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ABSTRACT The document reviewed the legal background of racial isolation in the schools of New York and described the efforts to eliminate de facto segregation in New York schools. An analysis is made of the extent to which Negro and Puerto Rican student populations are isolated in the New York schools. Selected studies were examined to define differences in educational, intellectual and psychological development associated with ethnic group membership. A critical examination was made of the contributions of school and non-school factors to educational development in majority and minority student populations. Integration techniques initiated in urban areas where de facto segregation was in existence were evaluated. Compensatory education programs from preschool through the college level were assessed for effectiveness in affecting the educational development of disadvantaged children. Findings of this report suggest new guidelines for school desegregation, as well as other ways in which conditions might be manipulated to enhance the chances that all disadvantaged children may experience improved and equal educational opportunity. (ON)

ED 034 090

RACIAL and SOCIAL CLASS ISOLATION in the SCHOOLS

A REPORT TO THE BOARD OF REGENTS
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

AA 000 450

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

DIVISION OF RESEARCH ALBANY, NEW YORK 12224

RACIAL AND SOCIAL CLASS ISOLATION IN THE SCHOOLS

A Report to the Board of Regents
of the University of the State of New York

Division of Research
Office of Research and Evaluation
New York State Education Department
December 1969

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

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PREFACE

This report on racial and social class isolation in the schools was prepared at the request of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, and Commissioner of Education, Ewald B. Nyquist, who in July 1968 asked the Division of Research, New York State Education Department, to gather and interpret the available facts relating to the topic of racial isolation in the schools, particularly as they might clarify and define the problem in New York State. The present result of this request went through many stages, beginning in June 1969, with two brief and successive reports which summarized the findings of major and minor studies of the educational and psychological consequences of segregation in the schools. In August, we began preparation of the present detailed review, finishing a preliminary draft some seven weeks later. Following presentation of the preliminary draft to the Board of Regents, we added to and further refined the report to its present stage of completion.

Organization of the Report

As now organized, the present document includes a summary report placed at the beginning and seven chapters of material which present the details of our review and interpretations. Chapter I presents a brief review of the legal background of racial isolation in the schools, and further reviews official policy and programmatic efforts relating to the elimination of de facto segregation in the schools in New York State.

The second chapter is an analysis of growth trends in the white majority population and among the Negro and Puerto Rican minority populations in the State and Nation. The extent to which Negro and Puerto Rican student populations are isolated in the public schools of the State is analyzed, together with analyses of the extent to which such isolation has increased or decreased in recent years. The results of these analyses define the current extent of the problem of ethnic isolation in the schools of the State, as well as provide some indications of whether racial isolation in the schools may be expected to increase in the near future.

The third chapter is a review of selected studies relating to differences in intellectual, educational and psychological development associated with social class and ethnic group membership. The purpose of this chapter is to define certain educational and psychological deficits which have a number of implications for the design of educational environments for different groups of socially and economically disadvantaged children. The findings reviewed in this section also provide a background through which the findings of subsequent chapters may be appropriately viewed.

Chapter IV is a critical examination of major studies of the relationship between racial and social class isolation in the schools and intellectual, educational and attitudinal development in advantaged white and disadvantaged minority student populations. The reports examined in this section are primarily sophisticated studies of probable causes of educational development in students in schools and classrooms with different levels of racial and social class isolation. This research further examined the contributions of school and non-school factors to educational development in majority and minority student populations. The findings reviewed in this section have a number of implications concerning the conditions which may be manipulated in the schools to increase the likelihood of equal educational opportunity for socially and economically disadvantaged children. The final section of Chapter IV briefly examines the implications of survey research on racial and social class isolation in the schools for the development of positive interracial attitudes and contact.

Chapter V presents a critical review of studies of integration initiated at the local level in response to the national and State commitment to school integration. These studies comprise a variety of integration techniques initiated primarily in urban and metropolitan areas where de facto segregation was in existence. The analysis in this section attempts to determine whether the relationship between integration and educational development varies as a function of such factors as length of time integrated, social class composition of the school, type of transfer program, elementary or secondary levels, proportion white in the classroom and whether students transferred to integrated schools compare favorably in educational development with students who remain in segregated schools. The final section of Chapter V examined the potential of the integrated school setting for promoting interracial acceptance and positive interracial attitudes.

Chapter VI is a selective review of studies of compensatory education programs, from preschool through the college level. Through a critical examination of research on the effectiveness of such programs as Head Start, Title I and a number of small scale efforts, an attempt is made to evaluate the validity of different approaches to compensatory education. The final section of Chapter VI summarizes studies of the relative effectiveness of compensatory education and school integration programs in affecting the educational development of disadvantaged children.

Chapter VII, the final section of the report explores in further detail certain implications for research and practice suggested by the findings reviewed in the main body of the report. Generally, the nature of the evidence precludes making highly definitive recommendations. However, certain stable findings do suggest a number of new guidelines for school desegregation, as well as other ways in which the instructional and community context might be manipulated to enhance the chances that Negro and other disadvantaged children may experience improved educational opportunity. Chapter VII also includes some additional material not covered in previous chapters: (1) a brief examination of data relating to the correspondence between _racial_ and _social class_ isolation in the schools in New York State; and (2) a brief summary of recent evidence of increasing racial cleavage in the schools, as shown by surveys of the incidence of interracial conflict occurring at the secondary level in 1968-69. For obvious reasons this last topic has considerable consequence for planning school integration programs, and we have therefore endeavored to place it within the context of other recommendations made on the basis of the chapter findings.

Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by the staff of the Bureau of School and Cultural Research under the direction of Lorne H. Woollatt, Associate Commissioner for Research and Evaluation, Carl E. Wedekind, Director, Division of Research, and Robert P. O'Reilly, Chief, Bureau of School and Cultural Research. The major contributor to the study was Robert P. O'Reilly (editor, and author of the Summary Chapter, Chapters III, IV, VII and other sections).

Principal authors of other Chapters include Ruth Salter (Chapters II and VI), Howard Berkun (Chapter V and other sections), Esther Patti (Chapter I), Katherine Blueglass (Chapter VI), and Peter E. Schriber, whose organizational abilities were a major factor in putting this report together. Gregory Illenberg, William Kavanagh, Zelda Holcomb and Arreed F. Barabasz also assisted in preparation of parts of this report. Much of the data for Chapter II were obtained from the Information Center on Education under the direction of John J. Stiglmeier, Director of the Center, with the assistance of Lee R. Wolfe, Chief, Bureau of Statistical Services, and Joan Peak. The section on recent legal history in Chapter I was written by William A. Shapiro, Attorney, Office of Counsel. Assistance in evaluating the report and developing implementations and recommendations for inclusion in Chapter VII was obtained from the following individuals in selected fields outside the Department: John Ether, specialist in teacher training (urban education), State University of New York at Albany; Vernon Hall, psychologist, Syracuse University; John Harding, psychologist, Cornell University; Mauritz Johnson, curriculum specialist, State University of New York at Albany; and Robin Williams, sociologist, Cornell University. A special note of thanks is also extended to our clerical staff and the staff of the Bureau of Publications.

A Note on Limitations

While the scope of this report has been fairly extensive, there are a number of important omissions which deserve recognition. First, we have not explored in sufficient detail the sources of educational failure of disadvantaged minority groups in other than the educational context. Secondly, we have not touched on the issue of racial separatism, which is now relevant to the considerations of anyone involved in the planning of school integration programs (Sizemore, 1969). Thirdly, the interdependent issues of interracial conflict in the schools and community factors which impinge upon the process of integration are discussed only briefly in Chapter VII. These factors deserve more detailed treatment since both issues appear to be highly important in planning school integration programs (Sullivan, 1969). A fourth limitation is reflected in Chapter II which lacks information on the ethnic composition of private schools in New York State (20.4 percent of the school-age population in 1968-69), and contains no breakdown of the public school population into elementary and secondary levels (the elementary level would undoubtedly show a more severe degree of racial isolation). A fifth limitation of the report stems from its focus on racial isolation in New York. Whenever possible, we have attempted to relate our conclusions, based on restricted information, to the broadly based conclusions found in more representative reports. Still, the report generally focuses on research findings which at best may only apply to the North, or possibly only to the Northeast.

The reader is encouraged to keep two additional considerations in mind in examining the conclusions of the report. The first of these is recognition of the fact that contemporary knowledge of the process of school integration and knowledge in supporting areas is incomplete, and what is known is subject to change with more sophisticated research. Secondly, it should be realized that the national commitment to eliminate segregation in the schools is eminently based on broad goals and values of American society. The stance of the social sciences is essentially neutral in relation to societal values, although it may draw much of its direction and support from value considerations, and at times is even used in the hope of defeating or supporting realization of them. We have endeavored to remain neutral in analyzing and evaluating the research findings reviewed in this report, and in stating their implications for contemporary educational policy and practice. We were not neutral, however, in attempting to derive from our study those implications, directions, criticisms and other bits of advice which appeared to offer a more systematic basis for the planning of school integration programs, or for the development of new and more effective programs for the child in the disadvantaged school.

As a final note, we solicit your reactions to the content of the present report, and hope that you will take the time to put them into writing. Pressed with deadlines we were unable to give certain sections of the report, such as the chapter on implications and recommendations, the care and time that might have made them more comprehensive and useful. We are continuing the process of revision and refinement in the expectation that a more complete document will be made available in the near future.

Robert P. O'Reilly
Chief, Bureau of School
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Jensen, A. R. Social class, race and genetics. American Educational Research Journal, 1968, 5, 1-42.

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Lesser, G., Gordon, F., and Clark, D. Mental abilities of children from different social-class and cultural groups. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Serial No. 102, 30. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965.

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Sullivan, N. V. Berkeley Unified School District. Harvard Educational Review, 1968 (Winter), 38, 148-155.

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PART I

RACIAL AND SOCIAL CLASS ISOLATION IN THE SCHOOLS: SUMMARY REPORT

RACIAL AND SOCIAL CLASS ISOLATION IN THE SCHOOLS: SUMMARY REPORT

The present section summarizes the detailed findings and conclusions of the chapters contained in Part II of the report. Together, these chapters constitute a detailed and objective review and interpretation of the research evidence as it relates to the topic of racial and social class isolation in the schools, particularly as the evidence is relevant to the problem in New York State.

The overall findings of this study generally bear out the contentions of the New York State Board of Regents and other policy making boards, that schools isolated on the basis of race may be decidely harmful to the educational development of their students. A careful examination of the evidence, however, fails to show that the potentially negative effects of segregated schooling are a function of racial isolation by itself. Rather, it appears that we face a much broader issue emanating from widespread establishment of certain types of educational practices and social and economic segregation of large groups of students in schools in the State and Nation. That is, the predominant socioeconomic context of the schools appears to exert an important influence on the educational, intellectual and psychological development of students. Negroes and certain other minority group members are proportionately more disadvantaged, educationally and otherwise due to the close correspondence between race and economic status and the continuing and even exacerbating maintenance of residential and school segregation in the North and South. However, any student--whether he be Negro, Puerto Rican, white or a member of any other indentifiable group--is likely to suffer some degree of educational disadvantagement as a function of attendance in schools and classrooms with predominantly lower-status children.

The results of the studies reviewed in this report also provide a substantial but yet tentative basis for a number of recommendations concerning ways in which the social class status of the school and other relevant factors may be manipulated to increase the chances that Negro and other disadvantaged children may experience a more facilitating educational climate. Given the current national commitment to school desegregation, it is of considerable importance that all systematic knowledge be brought to bear on making the process of desegregation as psychologically and educationally effective as possible. A major focus of this report is therefore on the clarification of relevant conditions which may be manipulated in the school to enhance the potentially facilitating effects of desegregation. Such conditions may include arranging appropriate social class balance in the school and classroom, making selective changes in the instructional process, involving students in new kinds of intergroup activities and others. The findings of other studies reviewed provide a source for additional recommendations concerning some types of qualitative changes which may assist in facilitating the educational development of minority group students during the interim of extensive racial and social class isolation in the schools.

The findings of this review farther show that school desegregation is no panacea leading to the sudden disappearance of the intellectual and educational gaps existing between members of the advantaged majority student population and those regarded as disadvantaged minority students. The evidence on this question does indeed indicate that, under certain conditions, school desegregation may result in worthwhile benefits for disadvantaged students. However, knowledge of the process of desegregation is not yet so complete, nor is what is now known of the process so systematically applied that any startling changes in educational development should generally become evident in desegregated minority group students.

It is thus evident that mere attendance in an "integrated" school is generally not sufficient to rectify the results of a grossly inadequate experience. Special and systematic efforts must be made within the integrated school setting, including the development of programs in both the social and academic areas, if the integrated school is to achieve near its potential for all students involved. For those students who will undoubtedly remain in inferior educational settings, isolated by both race and economic status from the broad range of opportunities offered by society, radical departures are needed to achieve effective changes in the schools. The efforts being made now in the cause of integration and through other forms of educational compensation appear to be far outweighed by the growing magnitude of our educational and social problems in the cities.

1. School Desegregation in New York State: A Review of Policy, Programs and Decisions

In the early history of the United States there were no formal provisions for educating the Negro, and in fact, many states passed laws prohibiting their education. Following the Civil War, efforts were made to make education available to the Negro in both the North and South. By 1900, the South was providing limited financial support for Negro education mainly in the areas of elementary and vocational education. While the North generally provided greater support for Negro education, like the South, most of its facilities were segregated. New York State, however, recognized the inherent inequity of separate facilities and in 1900 passed Section 3201 of the Education Law which prohibited discrimination in education because of race, color or creed. New York thus anticipated the results of many court battles that would find their climax in the 1954 Brown vs. the Topeka Board of Education decision.

While New York had moved relatively early to eliminate de jure segregation, the Brown decision drew attention to the State's rather extensive de facto segregation that has largely resulted from housing patterns. As in the case of de jure segregation, the State has shown a strong, positive and consistent response in attempting to eliminate de facto segregation.

The New York State Commissioner of Education in carrying out the policies of the Board of Regents has taken several steps during the last 20 years to provide administrative and programmatic resources for the elimination of segregation. These include: establishment of an office for the administration of the Fair Educational Practices Act of 1948; a study, in 1954, of discrimination in admission to higher education institutions by the Advisory Council on Intercultural Relations in Education whose responsibilities were later expanded to the area of elementary and secondary education; the creation of a Division of Intercultural Relations in Education in 1957 which administers funds provided by the State Legislature to assist school districts in solving problems of racial imbalance, assists in the development of programs designed to achieve integration and provides consultative services to local school officials and administers antidiscrimination legislation; the creation of the State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions, in 1962, to advise and assist the Commissioner and local school officials in dealing with the growing problem of de facto segregated schools: a statement of Guiding Principles for Dealing with De Facto Segregation in Public Schools in 1963; the establishment of a Center on Innovation in 1964 to encourage and guide constructive change in the educational system; the creation of the Office of Urban Education in 1968 to administer funds and carry out the Regents' directive of developing a strategy to revitalize urban school systems; the conduct of an ethnic census to indicate how the Department could be better prepared to attack the problem of racial imbalance; and the institution of a Pupil Evaluation Program which affords a look at the "inner-city" and its contiguous districts in studying the need for integration and compensatory education in certain areas of the State.

In support of the Board of Regents' and Commissioner's efforts to provide equal educational opportunity, Governor Rockefeller and the New York State Legislature have voiced a commitment to legislate against the immorality of discrimination and to work toward equal educational opportunity. This policy has been stated in the Governor's speeches, messages, memorandums and in legislative resolutions. The Legislature has appropriated funds designed to assist school districts in eliminating de facto segregation, and funds have also been appropriated to assist urban schools in upgrading their educational programs in response to the educational problems of urban minorities and the urban poor.

Despite this effort which has placed New York State at the forefront nationally in efforts to eliminate segregated schools, in 1969 the Legislature passed and the Governor signed into law Chapter 342 which became effective September 1, 1969. Chapter 342 (Laws of 1969) is an act to amend the education law in relation to prohibiting discrimination on account of race, creed, color or national origin in connection with the education of the children of the State. This legislation effectively prohibits appointed school boards and the Commissioner of Education from directing assignment of pupils and altering school boundaries or attendance zones for the purpose of reducing racial imbalance in the schools. At the same time, the Legislature appropriated $3 million to the State Education Department for assisting school districts in paying the excess costs involved in solving problems of racial imbalance in the schools.

This inconsistency noted in recent legislative action relating to school desegregation in New York State reflects the influences of a number of factors, including the current politically conservative climate of the State and Nation, continuing irrational fears among large segments of the population and a splintering of the Negro movement into a variety of separatist groups. The situation is now ineeed complicated, with some Negro groups demanding the continuation of segregated schooling, with control in the hands of the Negro community (Sizemore, 1969; Wilcox, 1969). The majority of whites and Negroes, however, still favor school integration as the primary solution to the problems resulting from separation of the races in most major facets of life in the United States (Pettigrew and Pajonas, 1964; Pettigrew, 1968; Newsweek, June 30, 1969).

As this report shows, racial isolation in public schools of the State has increased substantially in the past few years, and all indicators suggest that this increase will continue without the advent of strong and positive action. Current administrative and programatic efforts toward the advancement of school desegregation have stemmed only a small part of the tide of increase in racial isolation in the schools, the implications of which had apparently been recognized in former Commissioner Allen's 1966 statement before the Commission on Civil Rights, "...despite the depth of our commitment and the strong efforts that have been made, only a beginning has been achieved." At present, it appears that our beginning efforts have been outrun by continued growth in the seriousness of the problem of racial isolation in the schools.

2. Population Patterns and Segregation in the Schools

This section of the report examined National and State trends in the growth of Negro and Puerto Rican populations relative to the growth of the white majority, with the intent of determining their implications for ethnic isolation in the schools. Based on data from the Information Center on Education, the extent of ethnic isolation in the schools was analyzed over a two-year period to determine where ethnic isolation in the schools was relatively severe, and whether such isolation was on the increase.

Examination of population growth trends showed that New York State reflects the National trend of increases in the number and proportion of nonwhites in a generally expanding population. In 1967, nonwhites made up an estimated 10.1 percent of the total State population as compared to

4.5 percent in 1940. Puerto Ricans constitute another substantial minority group, accounting for nearly 6 percent of the population of the State.

As elsewhere in the Nation, nonwhites in New York State are largely concentrated in the urban and metropolitan areas. In 1967, 75 percent of the nonwhites in the State lived in New York City alone, with 86 percent living in the metropolitan area. Nearly all of the Puerto Ricans of the State (95 percent) are concentrated in New York City. Other areas of concentration are the big cities and certain suburban areas in the New York City metropolitan area.

School population figures reflect the increases in the numbers and proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, as well as their continuing higher birth rates. In 1968, these minority pupils constituted 23 percent of total public school enrollment. The major findings resulting from the analyses of the extent of racial isolation in the schools are as follows:

A. Reflecting the concentrations of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in certain areas, the largest numbers and proportions of minority pupils are found in the large city school districts of the State, in a few suburban school districts in Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland Counties and in a small number of smaller city districts not far distant from New York City. The proportions of minority pupils in the smaller districts are in some cases many times higher than those in the urban districts. The proportions of minority pupils in high concentration districts are many times greater than in surrounding districts.

B. In the two-year period studied (1966 to 1968), there were increases in the numbers and proportions of the Negro and

Puerto Rican pupils in most of the 42 school districts selected for analysis. In both urban and suburban districts with higher proportions of minority pupils, there was a concomitant loss of white pupils and in some cases a decrease in total enrollment. Where increases in the proportions of minority pupils occurred in districts with already high proportions of minority pupils, there was a general trend for white enrollment levels to decrease. Given the higher birth rates of the minority groups, and the residential patterns of Negroes, whites and Puerto Ricans, the trend toward higher proportions of minority pupils in some districts can be expected to continue.

C. As the numbers and proportions of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils has risen, the extent to which these children are isolated from white students in the schools has shown a far more dramatic increase. In just the year between 1967 and 1968, the increase in the number and proportion of minority pupils in nearly totally segregated schools (less than 11 percent white) amounted to nearly 24 percent or 70,000 pupils. The numbers and proportions of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in schools with less than 51 percent white students showed increases, respectively of 3.7 percent or more than 63,000 pupils; the corresponding figures for minority pupils in 51 percent or more white schools showed a proportional decrease of 3.7 percent or over 14,000 pupils between 1967 and 1968. These facts, taken together, indicate that ethnic isolation in the schools of New York

State has increased, and has been most severely intensified in those schools that already had large proportions of Negro and Puerto Rican students.

D. The problem of ethnic isolation is of the greatest magnitude in New York City where over half a million Negro and Puerto Rican pupils were in schools having more than 49 percent minority pupils (in 1968) and 338,000 of these were in schools having more than 89 percent minority pupils. Growth trends in the New York City schools, with increases in Negroes and Puerto Ricans and attendent white losses, leave no doubt that ethnic isolation in the city will intensify.

E. Some districts have schools in which the degree of racial isolation is even more severe than that reflected by the data for New York City. For these districts, the local distribution of ethnic minorities prevents the achievement of integration within district confines. While pupil ratios within schools might be adjusted to conform to minority proportions in the student population, accommodation with neighboring districts would be necessary to bring about an educationally desirable balance.

F. In other districts with ethnic isolation, notably city districts such as Buffalo, Utica, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie and Lackawanna, high proportions of minority pupils are in ethnically isolated schools, although the proportions of minority pupils in the total enrollment are more moderate. In these large districts, the possibility of achieving a more equitable ehnic balance appears to exist within the districts themselves.

G. Between 1967 and 1968, the level of ethnic isolation increased in some districts and decreased in others. In general, school districts which were able to reduce the level of ethnic isolation to any marked extent were those with high minority concentrations in individual schools and a relatively low proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in their total enrollments. Where the proportion of minority pupils in a district is high, any lessening of ethnic isolation that occurs is apt to be undone as a result of the tendency for minority proportions to increase and the corresponding tendency for whites to move from districts experiencing rapid growth in minority group population.

In summary, as Negro and Puerto Rican populations have continued to increase and have become more concentrated in given areas of the State, the problem of ethnic isolation in the schools has become more intense. New and creative approaches involving interdistrict cooperation will be necessary if there is to be any enduring achievement of equality of educational opportunity.

3. Social Class and Ethnicity: Relationship to Intellectual and Educational Development and Related Factors

The review of research in this section emphasized a number of potentially important socio-cultural differences, some of which represent rather firmly established facts and others of which yet require considerable elaboration through research. The former group are those "facts which have been established in research on gross social class and ethnic differences in educational and intellectual development. The results of nationally representative research indicate that Northern Negroes begin school roughly one standard deviation below whites in verbal achievement (approximately 85 percent of Northern Negroes are behind the average achievement score for whites) and maintain this distance throughout their years of school. Puerto Ricans begin at a somewhat lower point below whites than Negroes, but tend to narrow the gap very slightly across the years of school. Southern Negroes and Northern Negroes start at about the same point below Northern whites, but Southern Negroes show a decreasing and substantial divergence in achievement across the years of schooling.

Differences in I.Q. between whites and Negroes are about the same as achievement differences, generally ranging from one to two standard deviations. Differences in intelligence and achievement between whites and Negroes still remain after partialling out that which is attributable to gross indexes of social class. However, recent evidence (Lesser et al., 1965) suggests that social class effects on ability are more pervasive among Negroes than among other ethnic groups. Gross intellectual and achievement differences between disadvantaged minority groups and whites provide the basis for a general recognition of the size or significance of the educational problems faced by educators and supporting personnel involved in efforts to upgrade the education of disadvantaged children, in integrated school settings and otherwise. Knowledge of such differences is, however, of little use in the development of specific approaches coordinated with the varying intellectual needs of different minority group populations.

Some of the newer, more provocative, but less established findings of research on intellectual differences among minority groups appear to have greater potential as a basis for the design of programs and procedures which may facilitate educational development among disadvantaged children. The results of Lesser _et al_. indicate that there are clear-cut patterns among the abilities of different minority group children. These ability patterns were independent of the general but undifferentiating and pervasive effect of social class. Although additional research is required, the findings of Lesser _et al_. may have a number of implications for educational practice with disadvantaged children who are typically regarded as a homogeneous group whose disadvantagement is assumed to proceed from deprivation associated with social class.

Research in the field of language development has turned up a number of potentially important social class differences in language patterns and in approaches to language training in the family. Although the educational significance of social class differences in language patterns is far from clear, it does seem evident that language development plays an important role in certain kinds of problem solving, learning to read, and performance on tests of achievement and ability. The findings thus provide an important and provocative area for experimentation in the educational programs of disadvantaged children.

Research on basic learning abilities reported by Jensen (1966) has begun to illuminate some fundamental processes underlying the ability to learn in different social class and ethnic groups. Using tests which are largely independent of verbal mediational processes and specific transfer from previous learning, and thus largely independent of the cultural bias of traditional intelligence and achievement tests, Jensen found that basic learning abilities were markedly less affected by class and ethnic differences than were intelligence test scores. A partial explanation for the occurrence of large social class differences in I.Q. and school achievement has been the failure to recognize the basic learning abilities measured in the tests used by Jensen and others, and a corresponding failure of the school in adapting instructional procedures to capitalize on social class differences in ability patterns. As education continues to heavily emphasize cognitive (conceptual) approaches to learning, it seems probable that social class differences will continue to be evident and may even widen.

Other social class and ethnically linked differences relevant to effective learning in the school include such personality variables as anxiety and achievement motivation, physical health and educationally relevant attitudes, values and aspirations.

Studies of anxiety in white children have generally established that anxiety may have pervasive debilitating effects on educational development depending on the nature of the school context and other characteristics of the student. Much more needs to be learned of the potentially more debilitating effects of anxiety and related behaviors on intellectual and educational development among minority group students. However, the evidence now available is sufficiently provocative to suggest that anxiety and certain defensive orientations play a pyschologically significant role in newly desegregated school settings as well as in those schools which may be considered disadvantaged as a function of social class composition. Similarly, the findings of research relating to temporal orientation, academic motivation and self-esteem have different implications when examined in relation to school settings which differ on the basis of racial and social class composition.

The studies of ethnic and social class differences in motivation and attitudes further indicate that disadvantaged Negroes and other minority group members are more likely to be oriented toward immediate rewards and have a restricted sense of time (temporal orientation), are less likely to feel that they have effective control over the environment and are less likely to be adaptively oriented toward achievement and other widely held middle-class values, than more advantaged upper-status students.

The findings reviewed in this section provide some indication of the complexity of the problems which are likely to be involved in efforts to facilitate educational development in disadvantaged minority group students, whether through school desegregation, compensatory education, or both. The disadvantaged Negro student is not just typically a student with a relatively low I.Q. test score, but is an individual who is likely to display complex patterns of behavior and ability level whose significance in a variety of even more complex behavior settings is yet little understood. The findings of Lesser et al. for example, showed that Negro students displayed an ability patterning which differed considerably from other ethnic groups. The Negro sample in this study was second only to the Jewish sample in level of performance on the test of verbal abilities. Current compensatory education efforts, however, appear to place heavy emphasis on the development of verbal skills in disadvantaged Negro students, while frequently under-emphasizing or neglecting other ability areas where these students may be relatively deficient. These and the other findings discussed in this chapter point to a number of factors which must be accounted for and suggest some avenues which could lead to more efficacious program construction.

4. Major Studies of Racial and Social Class Isolation in the Schools

The focus of this section is a critical examination of major studies which investigated the relationship between racial and social class isolation in the schools and intellectual, educational and attitudinal development in advantaged white and disadvantaged minority student populations. Major sources for the study of these relationships are the Coleman et al.(1966) survey, a number of reports in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967), and a reanalysis of the data from Coleman et al. reported by McPartland (1967). Together these reports constitute four separate studies of racial and social class isolation in the public schools, three of which are based on the data from Coleman et al. Three additional surveys of the relationship between prior racial and social class isolation in the educational context and adult interracial attitudes and contact were also reviewed. The source for the adult surveys was again the 1967 report of the Civil Rights Commission.

The results reported here are stated in the form of generalizations, many of which were supported in more than one study. These statements are properly interpreted as tentative formulations of certain types of gross conditions, which in all likelihood, should be created or modified in order to provide the kind of school setting wherein a facilitating educational climate can be made possible for the disadvantaged student. Much more needs to be learned of the processes of social and cognitive interaction, under varying conditions of racial and social class isolation in the schools, before more definitive statements are possible concerning the educational and social conditions which are likely to be more appropriate for students with different social class and ethnic backgrounds. The statements made are further restricted to Northern whites and Negroes, with limited reference made to Puerto Rican students when justified by the data available.

A. With the exception of Puerto Rican students, it appears unlikely that extensive changes in school and teacher quality will substantially facilitate educational and intellectual development in students in schools isolated by race and social status. Such changes refer to traditional qualitative manipulations such as upgrading the curriculum, hiring better (more intelligent) teachers and improving facilities. Findings reviewed in other sections of this report indicate that a fundamental reorientation of educational approaches will be necessary before the school itself can have any practical effect on educational development among such groups as the disadvantaged Negro student.

B. The social class composition of the school has been established as an educationally relevant dimension, with substantial potential influences on achievement which are independent of the influences of teachers, curricula and facilities. Whether through accident or intent, schools with predominantly lower-status students thus constitute an undesirable educational milieu which becomes increasingly relevant for the educational development of disadvantaged students with increasing years in school. Negro and Puerto Rican students are more responsive to differences in the social status of the school and are disproportionately more affected by such differences since they are far more likely to attend schools in which their classmates are predominantly from lower-status families. The potential negative or positive influences of attendance in schools varying in social class composition is felt most strongly at the elementary school levels as opposed to the secondary levels. Correspondingly, racial and social class isolation in the schools is more severe at the elementary level due to the prevalence of the neighborhood school policy.

C. The available evidence on the effects of variations in racial and social class isolation in the schools at different grade levels indicates that transfer of disadvantaged students to upper-status schools is most likely to be educationally facilitating if: (a) it occurs continuously from the early elementary grades; (b) the proportion of lower-status students in the school does not exceed roughly 30 percent and (c) mixing of lower- and upper-status students occurs at the level of the classroom, rather than the school level.

D. Due to the association between social status and ability, and the even closer association between social status and school achievement, school practices which tend to group students on ability and prior achievement thus result in the creation of student groups which tend to be homogeneous on social class level. These practices will tend to create social class isolation within schools, essentially duplicating the undesirable educational conditions existing in schools isolated by race and social status.

E. Positive changes in educationally relevant attitudes in minority group students, particularly the "sense of control over the environment," are more likely to occur if such students attend predominantly upper-status schools. Two factors which appear to affect sense of control in complex ways are school success and attendance in predominantly lower-status schools. Since the sense of control over one's environment and other academically relevant attitudes may contribute to achievement independently of other factors (e.g., family background and school social class composition), they represent additional factors which may be subject to educational and psychological manipulation.

F. The social and economic context of the disadvantaged student's neighborhood does not appear to exert any effect on achievement, independently of family social class, ability factors and school social class composition. The lack of such a relationship suggests that the local social and economic context of the student's life will not interfere with the level of educational development that might be expected when disadvantaged students are transferred to predominantly upper-status schools.

G. The racial composition of the school appears to be slightly (or not) related to the educational development of either whites or Negroes. Strategies for school integration must then take into account social class balance of the school if any effect is to be expected on the educational development of disadvantaged minority group students.

H. It is evident from the results of all studies reviewed that the achievement levels of disadvantaged minority group students still remain substantially below that of advantaged whites, even with attendance in upper-status majority white classrooms and schools. One factor which appears to exert a major initial and continuing influence on educational development in Negro and white students alike is initial intelligence level. Similarly, family social class level appears to exert an important influence on student achievement, although this was more evident for whites than Negroes. The years prior to school attendance thus represent an important point for educational intervention for disadvantaged minority group students. It may also prove possible to circumvent some of the initial and continuing influences of family status on intellectual and educational development through appropriate strategies.

I. Several of the major studies under review attempted to relate desegregated and segregated schooling to inter-

> racial attitudes and contact. The findings of these studies must be considered as only suggestive due to a variety of serious methodological weaknesses. Nevertheless, there was a consistent trend which indicated that respondents who attended desegregated schools had more positive attitudes toward interaction with members of a differing race and more often accepted and desired contact with members of the other race. The results also clearly indicated that the factor of friendship with a member of another race may act as a mediating variable which crosses the segregated-desegregated barriers and is shown to be related to positive attitudes about members of another race. The integrated school, under certain circumstances, offers both the increased opportunity for interracial contact, and the increased likelihood that interracial friendships will be formed.

5. Studies of Integration at the Local Level

This section of the report examined the results of some 50 studies, the bulk of which were reports of action research on school integration programs initiated and evaluated by staff and consultants in local school districts. Typically, these studies examined issues of particular relevance to the districts in which they were initiated, but were generally similar in their focus on studying the relationship between integration and educational development. The differences and similarities among these studies allow some tentative identification of conditions that may mediate the effects of school integration on educational development. Such conditions include the grade level at which integration was experienced, the duration of the experience, the social class composition of the integrated school, the proportion of white and Negro students in the school and the type of transfer program used. To a limited extent, the conditions examined in these studies were similar to those examined in section 4, and thus allow further documentation of the findings from that review. Studies at the local level also contributed additional information on the integration process not available from the more representative and more sophisticated studies reviewed in section 4. Of particular importance is the information made available on the decision to initiate school integration where de facto segregation was in existence, as contrasted with research on fortuitous variations in racial isolation in the schools such as those found in the Coleman data which are dependent on an existing situation rather than on a direct manipulation of integration. In addition to examining the relationship between integration and achievement, a smaller group of studies provided data on potential changes in attitudinal and other factors which may occur with the initiation of integration programs in the schools. The results of these studies are suggestive of the nature of the social and educational interactions which are likely to occur under different conditions associated with the process of school integration.

While the studies in this section provide some new evidence on the integration process, they are, at the same time, beset with certain serious methodological problems which preclude drawing firm conclusions about the effects of racial integration per se. The first problem arises from the fact that evaluations of the effects of integration were conducted, at most, only two years after the programs were initiated. (The studies reviewed in Chapter IV suggest that effects resulting from racial and social class integration in the schools may not be apparent when measured over short periods of time.) The second problem results from the use of integrated and segregated comparison groups who were typically equated only in terms of ability. Since factors such as school social class composition and school quality are potentially important determinants of achievement among disadvantaged children. Since they were not investigated in these studies, it is impossible to determine the sources of any differences found between segregated and integrated comparison groups. As a result, when the findings result in superior achievement for "integrated" students, it must be taken to mean that integration produced a number of important changes in the educational milieu--any one or all of which could have contributed to the differences between integrated and segregated groups.

Within this framework a number of generalizations about the findings of the studies may be drawn.

A. Integrated Negro students, as a group, achieved at least as well as their segregated counterparts, and in many cases, achieved at higher levels. While segregated students, frequently achieved as well as integrated students, or the differences between integrated and segregated groups were only minimally significant--in only one instance, which is of questionable validity, did segregated student groups achieve at a significantly higher level than integrated students. Moreover, these results are strengthened by the fact that they were obtained under a wide variety of conditions. Superior achievement was found at both the elementary and secondary levels, although, the evidence on the secondary level was less conclusive due to a dearth of studies. Findings of superior achievement for integrated students were also obtained in programs which involved bussing either to the suburbs or within the city, and in studies of one and two years duration.

B. The investigation into the relationship between proportion white in the classroom and the achievement of Negro students yielded findings that were roughly similar to those of Coleman et al. and the RIPS report. That is, any positive association between proportion white in the classrooms and achievement for Negro students generally does not appear to be present or meaningful from a practical point of view until the proportion white exceeds 50 percent. It is likely that the Negro proportion indicated as desirable for planning the integrated school would expand or contract, depending upon other factors such as the level of social class background, ability and academically related attitudes of both the minority Negro groups and the majority white groups. While this conclusion may provide some latitude, the overall results of these studies and the Coleman et al. and the RIPS report quite clearly indicate that it is unlikely that the achievement of minority group students will be facilitated in an academic setting which is about 50 percent white middle-class students, if the integrated minority groups are predominantly from lower-social class levels with the usually attendant cognitive, motivational and psychological deficits.

C. One study provided indirect information about the effect of school social class composition on achievement in the integrated school. In that study integrated Negro students in the schools with a higher social class composition achieved at higher levels than Negro students in integrated schools with a lower social class composition. Both groups of students achieved at higher levels than segregated Negro students. Some reservations must be made about the study and it can only be said that there appears to be a tendency for Negro students in integrated schools with a high social class composition to do better than Negro students in an integrated school whose social class composition is lower.

D. The evidence presented in these research studies gives no reason to believe that white student achievement suffers under integration. The educational problems which may exist because of integration may frequently have a greater effect on the teacher than on the white student. Integration often means that teachers are faced with students whose achievement is behind their classmates, and their different behavior patterns are likely to create the need to alter some aspects of the teacher-student interaction process. While teachers have reported the need to practice some new instructional behaviors, the reports of the schools show few indications that their instructional programs have suffered as a result. One noticeable change has been that many of these schools have altered their curricula to include more study of minority group contributions and to provide activities designed to promote interracial understanding. Most of these efforts, however, have been minimal, and largely ignore the body of research on racial and class differences which could provide a much more systematic basis for program development in the integrated school.

E. The studies dealing with interracial understanding and the promulgation of achievement values in Negro students indicate that integration by itself will not automatically bring about improvement in either of these areas. While the studies indicate that integration may not necessarily have positive effects, they also suggest that the integrated setting has a great potential for producing better interracial understanding and an increased orientation toward achievement. The research suggests that integration will have a facilitating effect on Negro achievement if it embodies an atmosphere comprised of low social threat and high achievement expectation. While the schools in the studies of integration at the local level did relatively little to systematically create this kind of atmosphere, they, nevertheless, found that the subjective reports of students, teachers and principals indicated that one of the major strengths of their integration programs was an increase in interracial understanding. Although these reports are subjective, when they are combined with the objective research findings, the suggestion clearly emerges that the processes of instruction and social interaction in the integrated classroom could be manipulated in ways which may substantially facilitate the educational and psychological development of disadvantaged Negro students, as well as other groups of socially and economically disadvantaged children.

F. Even though the studies often indicate superior achievement on the part of the integrated Negro student, it must still be noted that the integrated Negro student generally remains behind the achievement levels displayed by the white majority. Integration, on an overall basis, does help the Negro student to close some of the achievement gap that is found between white and Negro students, but it does not appear to have the potential to completely close the gap. This suggests that if this gap is to be erased, integration must be accompanied by a number of additional, specific programs catering to the disadvantaged.

6. Compensatory Education and Integration

Compensatory education programs were based upon the environmentalist belief that the human mind, a tabula rasa at birth, has capacities and potentials that may take an almost unlimited number of forms, depending upon the enivronmental circumstances experienced in the course of its development; and therefore, that human behavioral organizations can be predicted, directed and modified. If children's capacities for development and learning are not fixed but highly flexible, programs of intervention may be able to compensate for limitations in the child's environment. Consequently, compensatory education efforts have been directed at overcoming or circumventing the environmental deficiencies and experiences of the disadvantaged child, particularly the urban Negro.

Compensatory education programs have been attempted at all educational levels. The specific format of each program varies, but they generally have incorporated remedial instruction, cultural enrichment activities and efforts to overcome attitudes presumed to inhibit learning. The major aims of the programs have been improved motivation, development of a greater sense of self-worth and improvements in intellectual and educational development.

In spite of these and other broad aims, the activities of the program were most often directed toward helping disadvantaged children reach a level where they could be effectively served by regularly existing educational services. Therefore, the determination of the success of most compensatory programs was typically based upon the degree to which the target population improved academically and approached the mean age-grade achievement levels established for the general population.

Preschool compensatory education programs were developed to offer enriched educational experiences to the disadvantaged child so that he would be adequately prepared for primary school. Project Head Start, implemented on a nationwide basis offered disadvantaged children a diverse program of educational, medical and social services. A major evaluation of Head Start compared the achievement of Head Start participants in the primary grades with that of similar children who had not attended the program. Summer programs failed to reveal any effect on the achievement levels of first, second and third graders. Full-year programs were minimally effective as shown by differences on readiness tests in first grade.

Head Start was most effective in the Southeast, in scattered programs in the central cities, and in all-Negro centers. Project Head Start participants, tested in primary school, did not approach national norms on standardized tests of language development and scholastic achievement. Gains that were made tended to disappear after the children entered a traditional primary program.

Among other preschool compensatory programs were those in Baltimore, Maryland and Ypsilanti, Michigan. The Early School Admissions Project in Baltimore engaged 60 three-to four-year olds in a program to determine whether preschool treatment could overcome any of the barriers to learning believed attributable to environmental factors. The project students showed a substantial amount of growth during a five-month observation period. However, the significance of this growth is unknown, since no comparisons were made with a control group.

The Perry Preschool Project of Ypsilanti was an experimental cognitive program for functionally retarded, culturally deprived Negro preschool children. It consisted of morning classes, afternoon home visits to involve the mothers and group meetings with the parents. An evaluation which followed the project children for three years revealed that the participants grew in intellectual and language development. The initial spurts in IQ were not sustained although the performance of the participants were superior to controls on some achievement tests in grades one and two.

At the elementary school level, the All Day Neighborhood School Program in New York City attempted to deal with the effects of a ghetto neighborhood by employing teachers specially trained in child development and home and school relationships to assist during the regular school day and in a special afterschool program. Program participants were compared to control students in similar schools without compensatory education. The reading level, IQ and academic achievement of the experimental group were not measurably improved. A followup of students into junior high school revealed no significant differences between the All Day Neighborhood School participants and the control group.

The three programs examined at the junior and senior high school level appeared to hold the most promise for improving the academic achievement of disadvantaged students. The Demonstration Guidance Project of New York City (1956-62), designed to stimulate culturally deprived children to pursue higher educational and vocational goals, involved 700 low achieving but academically able junior high school students. The program format included curriculum modifications, reduced class size, remedial instruction, cultural enrichment, counseling services and contact with parents.

The program followed three project classes through high school and compared the participants with pupils in three project classes. A greater number of students in project classes received academic diplomas and went on into higher education. These results are encouraging, but there are some major questions about the evaluation procedure and the generality of the findings. The project students, for example, were compared with a group drawn from unselected pupils from previous classes whose specific characteristics were not defined.

Upward Bound, a project supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was among the more successful compensatory programs. Academically promising, disadvantaged high school students spent six to eight weeks on a college campus in a program designed to overcome academic deficiencies and generate the skills and motivation necessary for college success. Data on this program indicated that 78 percent of the participants entered college and that their dropout rate was no greater than that of other college youths.

Project Case II: MODEL was another promising compensatory education program. The goal of the program was to improve the academic behavior of 28 training school boys, 85 percent of whom were school dropouts, and prepare them to return to school. Students participated in structured learning experiences that could be conducted on an individual basis and they received a direct monetary pay-off for test performance of 90 percent or better. Standardized tests administered at the end of a year showed dramatic gains in both IQ and achievement.

A generally unsuccessful undertaking was the Higher Horizons Program in New York City. The Higher Horizons Program was conceived as an extension of the Demonstration Guidance Project with the same basic elements, but extended down to the elementary level and opened to children of all academic abilities. The success of the Higher Horizons Program is found solely in the positive attitudes of participating teachers and principals. Except for improved attendance, some alteration in classroom behavior and gains in arithmetic achievement at the elementary level, this compensatory education program failed to demonstrate fulfillment of its objectives. The educational and vocational goals of the pupils were not altered, achievement was not stimulated and attitudes and self-image remained poor.

Compensatory education has been greatly extended with the passage of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965. Title I programs have served over 10 million elementary and secondary school youngsters, with the major emphasis on reading improvement. The _Report of the First Two Years of Experience with ESEA, Title I in New York State_ depicts general overall gains in achievement for the programs funded under Title I and concludes that Title I _is_ effective. The nature of the evaluation and the format of the data, however, make any firm conclusions respecting these programs questionable. In some cases the programs selected disadvantaged children with low achievement, but high ability. The study offered no comparison data or means of determining the significance of any gains made. Without a control group there is no way of ascertaining whether an eight month gain in seven months is the result of specialized treatment or might have occurred with no treatment at all. It can only be concluded from the data presented in the study that Title I programs have failed to demonstrate a general rise in achievement to grade level. If this is a criterion for success, then Title I programs, as conducted in New York State, have not been proven effective.

More representative surveys of Title I programs generally indicate a low level of effectiveness. While improvement along such lines as school morale, higher teacher expectations, self-perceived learning climate and school drop-out rates are reported. Title I programs have generally not resulted in any marked change in the academic achievement of children from disadvantaged backgrounds. Much of the failure of Title I to demonstrate positive results appears to lie in poor program development and management. The "Fourth Annual Report on Title I," for example, found that only a tiny fraction of the 1,000 programs reviewed showed evidence of adequate formulation and positive results.

Based on the large scale evaluations now available (cf. Jensen, 1969; Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968), it must be concluded that current large-scale applications of the concept of compensatory education have failed to show any real promise in raising the intellectual and achievement deficits of disadvantaged children. At the three-to-four-year old level, the introduction of diversified compensatory services is associated with some upward displacement in the academic achievement of the population served. However, the gains achieved are typically much less than dramatic and their association with specific aspects of the treatment is not conclusive. At the preschool, elementary and secondary levels, compensatory programs have not consistently resulted in achievement gains, and there have been numberous occasions upon which the control groups have surpassed their experimental counterparts. A substantial number of achievement gains tendered as evidence of program effectiveness have not been statistically significant. Relatively few of the compensatory education programs examined in this report have offered concrete evidence that the compensatory education model, as it is currently being implemented, is capable of obliterating the destructive influences of poverty and inferior social status through raising the achievement level of disadvantaged children to national normative standards.

The general failure of compensatory education programs tried in the past few years appears to have resulted in part from the manner in which programs were formulated and conducted. Thus the plethora of negative findings does not necessarily reflect upon the validity of the notions underlying the concept of compensatory education. Compensatory programs have frequently suffered from a number of gross defects which appear to have substantially limited their potential effectiveness. One of the more obvious defects, particularly among preschool programs, is in the relatively short duration of the intervention procedure. When examined in relation to the amount of time over which the child's deficits have been accumulating, it would appear that no program--however potent--would result in any substantial benefits over a period of a few or even several weeks.

A second deficiency in the conduct of compensatory programs appears to have stemmed from a general failure to follow-up and relate to the regular school program. In many instances little effort was made to co-ordinate the child's subsequent experiences in the regular classroom with his compensatory experiences. In addition to this, the assumption seems to have been made that it is not necessary to follow one year's set of compensatory experiences with another set of higher level compensatory programs which correspond to the child's new grade placement. There does not seem to be reason to believe that once the child is brought up to the level of his more advantaged classmates that he will remain there simply through the use of regular instructional services. The disadvantaged student will continue to live in disadvantaged circumstances after school hours, and this may require the provision of special compensatory programs on a continuous basis throughout his years in school.

A third difficulty of most past compensatory programs has been the global nature of program objectives and the corresponding global nature of approaches. Concepts such as self-esteem, language development and academic motivation are frequently little understood by program directors and teachers alike. The resultant lack of definition leads to a plethora of non-standardized and varied activities with varying degrees of relationship to the program objectives (assuming that even the objectives were clarified). Attention to modern behavioral concepts of program objectives, coupled with systematic instructional approaches derived from the objectives, would almost undoubtedly facilitate determination of effective programs which may be appropriate for wider application. It is notable that those compensatory programs that have been judged as highly effective (National Advisory Council, Fourth Annual Report,

1969) have incorporated highly specific objectives and program structure.

A fourth general criticism of compensatory education approaches derives from a pervasive lack of recognition of the specific psychological, intellectual and learning deficits typically displayed by the disadvantaged child. Most compensatory approaches, designed for general application have been no more radical than any educational program available to the advantaged student. The Coleman et al. report clearly indicates that improvements along traditional dimensions of school and teacher quality are likely to have minimal effects on disadvantaged Negroes and a somewhat greater effect on Puerto Ricans. The research review presented in Chapter III indicated some of the basic differences between social class and ethnic groups which might well be taken into account in selecting an appropriate instructional methodology.

In contrast to compensatory education, several studies which compared disadvantaged Negroes in traditional compensatory education programs with disadvantaged Negroes transferred to majority white schools, showed integration programs to be superior. Despite the apparent superiority of the integration approach, it is evident, as in the Berkeley study, that disadvantaged Negroes, even when they are in an integrated setting, achieved at considerably lower levels than more advantaged whites. If this gap is to be bridged, effective compensatory programs will need to be employed in conjunction with integration.

Some of the dimensions of effective compensatory programs are:

1. Operation over a long enough time period to reasonably expect that the desired results could be obtained;
2. Clear specification of program objectives in terms of observable student behaviors;
3. Structured curriculum and teaching that is specifically related to each of the program objectives;
4. Use of a variety of reinforcement techniques that relate to individual differences among program participants; and
5. Co-ordination of compensatory efforts with ongoing classroom activities and with those that can be expected subsequently.

It seems reasonable to expect that the integrated educational setting combined with the kind of compensatory program described in broad outline here, and suggested by some of the more successful studies, could be systematically manipulated to yield an even more potent effect upon academic achievement and interracial understanding than has been achieved by either compensatory education or integration alone.

7. General Implications and Recommendations

The national commitment to integration in the schools, and recent legislative programs designed to aid the poor, have raised the hopes and expectations of Negroes and other disadvantaged minority groups. While lack of any real progress in realizing these expectations has created some degree of disaffection among Negroes, the majority remain committed to achieving the goal of equality of educational opportunity through a partner-

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ship with the more advantaged members of society.

The disaffected, though not a large segment of the poor, have nevertheless made their feelings and demands felt in the schools and in other major institutions in the social system. Current studies show that the demands and actions of Negroes for equality are firmly grounded in a level of economic and educational degredation, which has shown no improvement relative to the status of whites over the past 20 years. Efforts to mitigate the economic and social disadvantagement of Negroes and other minority groups appear to have hardly made a dent. In fact, the problem of the poor appears to have intensified, and its social consequences grown more serious, as reflected in the steady increase in racial isolation in the schools and the sudden swelling of interracial hostility in the nation's high schools.

Integrating the schools appears to offer a basic solution to the disadvantagement suffered by the Nation's minority groups, although other efforts will also be required. The findings of research generally show that educational development among Negroes can be facilitated in the integrated school setting and that this effect appears to be more substantial if it occurs near the outset of schooling. However, the effect of integration in the traditional school setting appears to be essentially unrelated to anything the schools are doing, but is rather a function of the more advantaged social class background of the white majority.

Current evidence shows that, in New York State and elsewhere, Negroes and other minority students attend schools where their fellow students are predominantly from the lower social classes. In the larger cities, and even in some suburban areas in New York State, such factors as economic and residential segregation and the attendance of large numbers of white students in private schools create schools with high concentrations of economically and socially disadvantaged students.

The correspondence between racial social class isolation in the schools of the state indicates that substantial numbers of children are deprived of one of the more important elements of quality education: the opportunity to interact socially and cognitively with children from upper-status backgrounds.

Examination of current guidelines for school desegregation indicates a failure to give adequate emphasis to the importance of social class considerations in planning the integrated school. Instead, guidelines have focused on the concept of racial balance, with resultant ambiguous criteria for school desegregation which may vary as a function of the overall racial balance in the particular district or group of districts being considered.

When the details of the research findings on racial and social class isolation in the schools are examined, it is apparent that much care must be taken in planning for the integrated school if it is to have a positive effect on educational development among minority students. The research findings relating to the social class composition of the integrated school, and other considerations to be enlarged upon later, should receive explicit recognition in the development of plans for desegregating the schools. Some suggested procedures which would be of assistance in systematically planning the desegregation process include:

1. A "flagging" procedure based on the collection of relevant data on an annual basis, in which schools at the elementary and secondary levels would be identified as increasing in racial and social class isolation,

with a concomitant decrease in overall achievement.

2. A procedure for systematic analysis of the educational and social characteristics of the "flagged" school and its regional educational, economic, ethnic and cultural context. Relevant information gathered might include:
    a. Information on individual student family background factors including economic status, nutritional and health status, academic achievement and ability levels and educationally relevant attitudes (within "flagged" schools).
    b. Analysis of educational inequities resulting from such factors as staff turnover; inadequate materials, facilities and teaching procedures; lack of community participation; low morale and others (within "flagged" schools).
    c. Identification of local economic and social resources which could be brought to bear on the problem.
    d. Analysis and specification of the ethnic and economic composition of the schools in the region of the "flagged" school, which might serve as facilities for transfer of disadvantaged students--including both public and private facilities.

A "flagged" school may represent one or a few schools in a suburban area, all disadvantaged schools in a section of the inner-city, or all schools in the central city. The procedure would initially focus on those schools which are already at the extremes of disadvantagement as well as those which appear to be rapidly approaching the extreme. In later stages, schools with lesser problems would become the focus of planning and action. This information gathering procedure might also be used as a basis for the formulation of comprehensive plans for integrating the schools on a regional or even state-wide basis.

A further cause for re-examination of official policy, and especially of the adequacy of programs which represent the translation of policy into action, results from lack of serious consideration of the fact that racial isolation in the schools in many northern states (including New York) is increasing year by year and will undoubtedly continue to increase for at least the next five to ten years.

The Influence of Group Processes in the Integrated and Disadvantaged School Settings

Although there is considerable potential for eliminating racial isolation in many regions, current population trends indicate that racial isolation in the schools is increasing and will continue to increase in the near future. As the extent of school segregation grows, the negative effects of group processes impinge on larger and larger numbers of minority students and thus enlarge the problem. Studies show that the typical teacher-to-group instructional pattern is liable to gross interference in the lower-status school. Other sources of learning interference are found in teacher expectations and in morale factors which reflect the attitudes of the students and the community toward the deterioriated school.

Due to the prevalence of group-oriented teaching methods, the effects of group processes may also be felt in the so-called "racially balanced" school and in the predominantly white school. Given traditional teaching approaches, whether the influence of the group on the learning process is negative or positive appears to depend substantially on the social class composition of the classroom. Thus schools with substantial numbers of lower-status students (whether or not this is due to desegregation), and schools which employ ability grouping and tracking, may create essentially the same types of deteriorated learning environments as exist in racially isolated schools. Where the integrated school setting results in "tracking" minority students into "special classes", there is the additional negative outcome of greatly reducing opportunities for increasing interracial understanding.

The existence of segregated classes within the integrated school setting is a likely outcome if integrated Negroes are simply placed within the contemporary school structure, with the current and widespread reliance on ability grouping and tracking. Such an outcome can increase the likelihood of racial cleavage and result further in outbreaks of interracial aggression. Indeed, the increase in racial disorders in the nation's secondary schools, indicates the great importance of social and psychological considerations in planning an effective integrated school.

Improving the Educational Process in the Disadvantaged School

The above considerations and realistic evaluations of the progress of integration in the schools indicate that major new efforts are needed to increase the pace of integration, while at the same time radical departures are needed to affect the educational opportunities of large numbers of students who are likely to remain in segregated schools. Certain basis recommendations may be made in each of these areas as follows:

In the disadvantaged school, it is recommended--

1. That group processes in the learning situation be

generally circumvented through replacement with individualized modes of instruction or small group learning in which students are appropriately matched to avoid sources of interference with learning.

2. That systematic group experiences be developed in which students may gradually learn to participate effectively in group activities, particularly those activities which may lead to increased socialization. That teachers be trained to effectively communicate achievement expectations which recognize the child's basic willingness to learn and discover, and not the disabling conditions of his background.

4. That the child's learning experiences at the outset involve extensive structuring or control, through various techniques and facilities, until self-maintenance of desirable learning behaviors become strongly evident.

That the child receive systematic training in attending to relevant stimulation in the learning situation and responding appropriately.

On the basis of findings reviewed in Chapters III and VI, it is suggested that strategies for teacher preparation and in-service training relevant to educating the disadvantaged child, reflect the tentative nature of what is known about the disadvantaged as well as the tentative nature of its possible applications. A flexible and efficient strategy would focus on the development of basic capabilities which form the essential components of a broad variety of systematic instructional and psychological techniques coordinated with the needs of children with different educational problems. Relevant capabilities include the following:

1. Ability to assess and interpret measures of fundamental abilities and skills relevant to learning (e.g., specific learning abilities, basic learning abilities).
2. Ability to select and apply basic teaching strategies which reflect recognition of learning capacities or abilities of various types and levels, and which are coordinated with strategies for the measurement of abilities (e.g., associative learning, concept learning).
3. Ability to systematically apply a variety of reinforcement strategies, utilizing different kinds of schedules and different types of reinforcers (concrete, abstract) under appropriate conditions.
4. Ability to apply specific training techniques in a variety of areas where intellectual and educational deficits are most severe among the disadvantaged (e.g., language training, reasoning).
5. Ability to manipulate affective tone in intergroup processes to achieve desired results.
6. Ability to create instructional materials to meet the the specific learning requirements of individual children.
7. Ability to train children in certain behaviors and attitudes which support the process of learning, such as "attending to the task."

8. Ability to apply quasi-therapeutic procedures designed to circumvent or replace maladaptive defensive and other responses which interfere with efficient learning.

Some Considerations for the Effective Integrated School

Study of the research and reflection on the experiences of others relating to the process of school integration suggests five sets of interrelated conditions which may enhance the effectiveness of the integrated school:

1. Since the student's social status in the classroom seems to affect his level of academic success and vice-versa (i.e., it is a circular process), a major effort should be mounted to insure early and continuing success in the academic area. The application of certain approaches and programs designed to make up for learning difficulties may be necessary to the academic success of the desegregated Negro student.
2. Academic efforts by themselves do not take full advantage of the potential of the integrated school for positive educational and social change and may even fail in an atmosphere of potential interracial conflict.

   Specific attention must therefore be paid to the minority student's own capabilities and tendencies in social interactions with whites as well as to the typical social responses and tendencies of whites in the interracial situation.

3. Studies indicate that the classroom teacher typically exerts a major influence on the social stutus of students. Such influence is frequently exerted in relation to conforming, class-linked behavior, student responses and other behaviors indicative of achievement, sex of student and students' racial status (Chesler, 1969). These forms of influence are rapidly communicated to the peer group, who, in turn, reject the "offender." This pattern of teacher-peer group rejction is more likely to be experienced by the typical Negro child, and *thus specific steps must be taken to train teachers to respond appropriately in the classroom*.
4. Research shows that parents exert a powerful and continuing effect upon their children's manifestations of racial attitudes in the classroom. Special efforts to create racial harmony in the school setting may thus fail or prove only partially effective if steps are not taken to develop substantial community support and participation in the school program. *Special efforts should therefore be made to expand the integrated school into the role of community center and involve parents of both racial groups in the process of integration*.
5. The introduction of Black history, culture and special studies into the curriculum appears to be an important basis for improving interracial understanding.

Careful and fair attention should be given to minority group contributions at all levels of the curriculum, and special courses relating to the issue of cultural pluralism might be appropriately included in the school program.

Based on the foregoing conditions for the effective integrated school, suggestions for realizing these conditions are given below in three areas teacher training procedures, procedures for changing the structure and organization of the school and procedures for attaining community participation in the academic program.

Teacher Training Experiences Relevant to Establishing the Effective Integrated School--

1. Experiences directly illustrating typical interaction patterns of teachers which represent the application of negative class- and caste-linked attitudes. These experiences would further incorporate direct practice in social responses which imply positive recognition of behavioral differences associated with variations in sociocultural background.
2. Knowledge of Negro history, social problems, individual and group differences relating to success in American society, and an understanding of current forces of social interest.
3. Practice in managing patterns of interracial interaction which would focus on historical, cultural, economic and attitudinal differences associated with race and class status.
4. Practice in the utilization of principles based in

social psychological research which relate to changing intergroup attitudes. One of the prime examples proceeds from the work of Sherif (1958) which showed that intergroup attitudes may be changed when alienated groups pursued activities which involved the achievement of a common goal.

5. Practice in utilizing the behaviors that are appropriate to an individually prescribed instructional process.
6. Practice in the application of techniques which would allay the stress value of certain elements of the learning situation, e.g., test-taking, verbal participation in classroom activities and the experience of difficulty with traditional learning materials and approaches.

Suggested School Structure and Organization for Effective Integration--

The diversified clientele found in the integrated school will mean that an effective program requires a degree of flexibility which will necessitate basic changes in structure and organization.

1. Structural flexibility that would meet the diverse needs of children in the integrated school appears to be possible through implementation of the continuous learning year.

   The main features of the continuous learning year allow the adoption of educational practices which are relevant to individual learning needs, and of greater practical significance--alow more time for special educational programs without removing the child from participation in the regular school program.

2. Organizational flexibility can be gained through adoption of a continuous progress instructional program that fits in well with the establishment of the continuous learning year. In this setting the student would move at his own pace in each instructional area and not be subject to the debilitation that may occur because of an instructional pace aimed at the average student.

Suggested procedures for obtaining adequate community support in the school integration program include (Paraphrased from Sullivan and Stewart, 1969, pp. 198-202):

1. Encouraging minority groups, particularly the poor to take the initiative, speak out and become leaders.
2. Involving all civic, university, church, business, service groups and minority organizations, including the Black Power leaders.
3. Involving parents at all steps of the process, particularly minority parents.
4. Continually informing the public of progress made and of plans for the future.
5. Providing intergroup education in in-service units and seminars for the public.
6. Scheduling social events, picnics and weekend retreats, for both Negro and white parents.
7. Involving students, parents and teachers in interracial workshops, meetings and neighborhood discussions.

8. Integrating after-school recreational programs.

Compensatory Education: Implications for Research and Practice

Evaluations of compensatory programs for the disadvantaged have shown that in general they are not succeeding in raising the achievement levels of the deprived. Similarly, while integration has had a beneficial effect, it has not succeeded in bringing the performance of minority pupils up to national norms. It is apparent that many basic questions relating to the causes of inadequate educational development remain unanswered, and that programs that will produce academic change have yet to be devised. It is also apparent that in those instances where promising techniques for working with the disadvantaged have been discovered, they have not found their way into practice in the schools.

The current inadequacies in compensatory education stem from a number of sources. In the areas of research there has been inadequate attention to defining the characteristics which differentiate the lower- and the middle-class child and children from different ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, intervention research has lacked continuity and comprehensiveness. It has been handicapped by questionable evaluative measures which do not tap the specific skills being taught, by a lack of specificity in treatment description, and by inadequate replication and follow-up.

Program effectiveness has been hampered by the present procedure of leaving much of program formulation and implementation up to the local school district and therefore to school practitioners, who because of their experience and training are unable to come up with the innovative approaches needed for the disadvantaged. Two additional conditions which appear to relate to the inadequacy of program formulation and development in the school setting are: (1) the present informal structure for getting into the hands of public school personnel the results of significant new research and development activities is totally inadequate to the task at hand; and (2) the entire process of decision-making relating to the allocation of funds for research and development activities, relevant to effective change in the disadvantaged school, generally fails to relate to the available body of systematic knowledge of the educational process.

All of this suggests the need for a new approach to the conduct of research, development and implementation activities in the education of the disadvantaged, an approach that will afford more systematic control over funds allocated for intervention research and educational change in the disadvantaged school. The approach suggested below is designed to afford such systematic control over program formulation and development, while at the same assuring that efforts in this direction will relate more closely to systematic knowledge of the educational process.

It is proposed that research and program efforts designed to upgrade the disadvantaged school be assigned to special centers which would serve the State educational agency, the schools and the community in a designated area. Operating and development costs would be derived from a pooling of portions of State and Federal funds normally devoted to such activities as compensatory education and innovation (perhaps 10 or 15 percent). A series of such centers would operate primarily within and around the urban centers of a single state or region in a fashion similar to the Federally supported regional educational laboratories, but would be further centralized to insure comparability among certain elements of program activity (e.g., evaluation techniques).

The bulk of state and Federal funds, intended for compensatory education and related efforts and normally apportioned to the LEA, would still be received by the public schools. However, the expenditures of these funds would be controlled or chanelled in such a way that a significant portion would be used to support specific programs generated by the intervention center for implementation in the schools (excluding any program funds which are intended to render additional general aid to urban and other districts.

An initial activity of the centers would be the preparation of broad technical reviews of "state of the art" reports that would provide a basis for policy making; lead to the packaging and distribution of instructional materials of proven value; give direction to leadership efforts to solve problems stemming from social-psychological conditions and requiring a reorganization of the educational enterprise; give direction to school districts instituting locally supported instructional and organizational changes to meet the needs of their social contexts; and provide an efficient basis for the formulation of new research and development efforts.

The centers would undertake a variety of service activities to assure an intensive impact on the schools. These might include:

1. Interpreting further the findings of significant state of the art reports and other relevant research efforts to local school staff.
2. Planning, with school district staff, the implementation of research findings in the local setting.
3. Assisting local school district staff in the implementation process itself by bringing to bear the specialized knowledge of the social and behavorial sciences on a continuing basis.
4. Providing for more adequate validation of promising

new programs through cooperative efforts with several school districts, thereby establishing an adequate basis for generalization of findings to other educational settings.

5. Providing the leadership and resources for broad dissemination and demonstration of relevant research findings and successful program developments.
6. Developing, for implementation by other agencies, guidelines and other resources which present detailed plans and requirements for new staff training programs, such as teaching specialists and teacher aides.
7. Providing a fertile field for the systematic training of school personnel in realistic situations, in cooperation with institutions of higher education.
8. Providing the resources for continuing supervision and adjustment of new programs implemented in the schools.
9. Providing the independent leadership necessary to involve other relevant agencies (e.g., social welfare agencies, foundation support, other Federal programs) in a concerted and experimental attack on social problems which grossly affect the lives of disadvantaged children, some of which cannot be easily or effectively circumvented by efforts in the local school context alone.

The foregoing proposals represent only one set of alternatives for organizational change designed to improve the ways in which intervention research is conceived and conducted and in the ways in which it is implemented in the schools. Serious consideration of such alternative appears to be required if the pace of positive change in the education of disadvantaged children is to achieve even a low correlation with the need for such change.

PART II

RACIAL AND SOCIAL CLASS ISOLATION IN THE SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN NEW YORK STATE: A REVIEW OF POLICY, PROGRAMS AND DECISIONS

The purpose of the present chapter is to provide an up-to-date review of the major factors which have influenced the progress of desegregation in the schools in New York State. The account begins with a brief history of legal landmarks relating to desegregation of the schools in the nation and State, up to the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision in Brown v. the Board of Education. Policy statements of the Commissioner of Education and the State Board of Regents relating to racial integration in the schools are documented, as are the administrative and programmatic resources devoted to the elimination of racial imbalance in the schools in New York State. Concluding sections present an analysis of leadership factors affecting the progress of school desegregation, and a selective review of recent legal decisions relating to actions designed to eliminate *de facto* segregation in the schools of New York and other states.

Early Legal Decisions Relating to Desegregation in the Schools: A Brief History

In the early history of the United States there were no formal procedures to educate the American Negro. Proceeding from a massive and unreasoning prejudice, laws were even passed to prevent the fearful prospect of educating slaves, presumably based on the notion that such education would eventually destroy a slave-based economy. South Carolina, for example, imposed a fine upon anyone caught teaching slaves to write. In 1831, the General Assembly of Virginia prohibited the teaching of reading and writing to slaves. Similar legislation was passed from 1832 to 1866 in Alabama; Washington, D.C.; Missouri and Texas.

Shortly after the Civil War, however, liberal crusaders from the North had become convinced that proper education stood between the Negro and a separate but equal place in American society. As reported by Lomax (1962), the federally supported Freedmen's Bureau, established in 1865 with representatives throughout the South, concentrated on aiding education of Negroes. By 1896, separate educational facilities for Negroes were sanctioned by law in the rendering of the Plessey v. Ferguson decision, which ruled that laws segregating people by race did not violate the United States Constitution. This decision by the United States Supreme Court legalized segregation ("separate but equal facilities") throughout the country and stood as the law of the land until 1954.

By 1900, certain areas in the South had allocated limited financial support for separate educational facilities for Negroes. Such unequally supported schools as existed were controlled by whites and were used primarily for elementary or vocational education. For example, two years after the Civil War, the Peabody Fund was established to support Negro education in the South. Although a Northern based organization, the Peabody Foundation reflected the same separatist philosophy as the South, as explained by Frazier (1957):

> The trustees of the (Peabody) Fund opposed the mixed schools for whites and Negroes and opposed the Civil Rights Bill before the United States Congress which was designed to guarantee equal educational facilities and other civil rights for Negroes. Negro teachers who were beneficiaries of the fund were expecced to conform to the racial policy of this foundation. From the time when this philanthropic foundation was

> created until the present, the Negro intellectual has been forced to shape not only his philosophy according to the social philosophy of racial adjustment but his general social philosophy according to the social philosophy of the northern philanthropic foundations (p. 96).

Similarly, the Rosenwald Fund, established with the influence of Booker T. Washington, subsidized the study of art, literature, the sciences and teaching, for those Negroes who did not display independent thought regarding racial and economic problems (Franklin, 1969).

After the Plessey v. Ferguson decision, differences between the North and South were often a matter of degree of enforcement of segregation in the schools. With the Negro migration to the North in the twentieth century, Negro children were frequently forced, or at least urged, to attend predominantly Negro schools. Strong enforcement was unnecessary since Negroes lived in restricted areas. Few states followed the early lead of New York which, in 1900, passed Section 3201 of the Education Law, prohibiting discrimination in education because of race, color or creed.

In New York City, steps were taken to bring about better integration in the city schools after studies had shown the extent of de facto segregation in the city. Actually, Negroes began their fight against discrimination and segregation in public schools in New York State and City in 1857. As a result, Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York,in 1884, abolished Negro schools and opened all the schools to all children without regard to race or color.

In other Northern states efforts were varied. Franklin (1969) reports that:

> Most of the Northern states were inclined to provide separate schools for Negroes, especially where white patrons brought pressure upon school officials. The practices varied greatly from place to place. In several Northern states there were separate schools where

> all races could attend, such as New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. In two states, Kansas and Arizona, only on the elementary level was separate education mandatory; but in both cases several communities had separate schools on the secondary level (p. 549).

In the 1800's, at least one attempt at desegregation failed. This was the case of Benjamin Roberts, a Negro from Boston, Massachusetts, who, in 1849, attempted to enroll his five-year old daughter in a white elementary school closer to his home than the nearest Negro school. A court case followed the rejection of the child by the white school. The Massachusetts court ruled that the school board did have the power to enforce segregation (Stoff, 1967).

In 1923, an Oklahoma court ruled that inequality in education existed in a particular school district where the Negro school was of poorer quality than the white school. In 1936, a Negro's admission to the University of Maryland Law School was ordered by a Court of Appeals. In 1938, the United States Supreme Court ruled in Gaines v. the University of Missouri that Missouri must admit a Negro applicant to the university. In February 1946, the denial of admission of a Negro to the University of Texas led to the Sweatt v. Painter case. Westley (1953) recorded certain events of the case as follows:

> On March 26, 1947, the Court of Civil Appeals remanded the case to the county court of Travis. This gave the State of Texas opportunity to improvise a law school in Austin for...Sweatt. This consisted of a three-room basement, several desks and chairs... In February, 1948, the Texas Court of Civil Appeals declared that the basement law school was equal to the law school of the University of Texas and that Sweatt could not attend the latter institution (p. 420).

The Sweatt v. Painter case was carried to the Supreme Court where the question was presented as to whether the Fourteenth Amendment permitted the establishment of separate schools by race. Along with McLaurin v. the

Oklahoma State Regents and Johnson v. the University of Kentucky, the resultant decision left little validity in the "separate but equal" doctrine as applied to graduate and professional schools (Saye, Pound and Allums, 1964; Westley, 1953).

The long series of legal attacks against segregated schooling culminated in 1954 with the Brown case. Brown v. the Board of Education dealt with the constitutionality of statutes in Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware, requiring the maintenance of separate elementary and high schools for Negro and white students (Katz, 1967). The unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court supported by social science research attacked the very center of the segregation issue opposing the "separate but equal" principle. Chief Justice Warren's court opinion in part contained the following·

> To separate them /minority group children/ from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may effect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.... We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal (Stoff, 1967, p. 7).

The 1954 decision and other Supreme Court rulings following the Brown case indicated that the goal of public school desegregation was at least a legal reality. The principal problem since then has been to carry out an orderly and nonviolent desegregation process in the schools. Progress in school desegregation, however, has been inordinately slow. According to the New York Times (January 16, 1964), on the tenth anniversary, in 1964, of the Supreme Court's decision, 98.9 percent of the Negro students in the eleven Southern states were still in all-Negro schools.

Concerning desegregation in the North, Young (1966) noted that, until 1959-1960, the North reacted with "...moral indignation to the South's various shameful techniques of resistance and to the miserably slow pace of desegregation after the Brown decision (p.103)."

Young further noted:

> This self-righteous attitude continued until, in many Northern communities, civil rights groups and Negro citizens became aware that, because of housing segregation and some rather odd school district lines, education in the elementary schools of the North was as rigidly segregated as in the South.
>
> Probably the most celebrated example of this was the New Rochelle school case, which clearly revealed that the school board had some time earlier drawn district lines purposely to keep Lincoln an all-Negro school. In this case, Judge Irving Kaufman of the Southern District of New York held on January 24, 1961, that the local board of education had maintained racial segregation through a policy of gerrymandering school boundary lines and permissive transfers.
>
> At any rate, this case did not touch the fundamental question: that an all-Negro school, regardless of how the district lines are drawn, is innately inferior. But the case did lead to dialogue between civil rights groups and local boards in Northern communities and brought the term 'de facto segregation' into current usage (p. 103).

The Brown v. Board of Education decision provided the legal basis for Federal action in those cases where state law compelled or permitted segregated educational facilities. Eventually, the Brown decision was applied in those cases where segregation resulted from administrative action by state or local public officials, irrespective of legal sanction or dictate (U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1967, p. 185). The Supreme Court has yet to act formally on the issue of *de facto* segregation, resulting largely from segregated housing patterns. However, where state and local officials have moved to reassign students on the basis of race to eliminate *de facto* segregation, they have been upheld by the courts (U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1967, p. 196).

The responsibility for the elimination of *de facto* segregation is now squarely in the hands of state and local officials. The impetus for such action is more rational now than at any other time in history, especially with the availability of two extensive empirical reports: The Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld and York, 1966) and Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967). Coleman et al. document the fact that, on a national scale, equality of educational opportunity does not yet exist in terms of school facilities, school programs and quality of teaching staff. Of much greater significance, both Coleman et al. and the report of the Civil Rights Commission clearly show that segregated educational facilities, whether de jure or de facto negatively affect the educational and occupational opportunities available to certain ethnic minorities and the poor of the nation. The net effect is to perpetuate an educational system in which educational quality is unequally available to individuals depending on caste and social class.

Political and Educational Policy Relating to the Elimination of De Facto Segregation in New York State

Since 1900, the political and educational leadership in New York State had reacted positively in attempting to eliminate the inequalities resulting from de facto segregation. Gubernatorial and legislative policy in recent years has generally evidenced strong support of the import of the Brown decision. James E. Allen, Jr., the former State Commissioner of Education, the Regents of the University of the State of New York and the State Education Department staff have acted in concert in issuing guidelines and policy statements directed at creating the conditions for equality of educational opportunity.

In response to the recommendations of the Regents, the Legislature has appropriated funds designed to assist school districts in eliminating de facto segregation. Funds have also been appropriated to assist urban schools in upgrading their educational programs in response to the educational problems of the urban minorities and the urban poor. The result of all these efforts is that New York State, along with Massachusetts, has been recognized as possessing the most advanced legal requirements directed at the elimination of segregated educational facilities (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, p. 186).

Governor Rockefeller and the New York State Legislature have voiced a commitment to legislate against the immorality of discrimination particularly in the area of equal educational opportunity. This policy has been stated in the Governor's speeches, messages, memorandums and in legislative resolutions /See Poling (1960); Desmond (1964); Rockefeller (1960); New York State Assembly 1964, Resolution 58; New York State Senate 1965, Resolutions 178 and 215/.

However, in 1969 the Legislature passed and the Governor signed into law Chapter 342 which became effective September 1, 1969. Chapter 342 (Laws of 1969) is an act to amend the education law in relation to prohibiting discrimination on account of race, creed, color or national origin in connection with the education of the children of the State. This legislation effectively prohibits appointed school boards and the Commissioner of Education from directing assignment of pupils and altering school boundaries or attendance zones for the purpose of reducing racial imbalance in the schools. At the same time, the Legislature appropriated $3 million to the State Education Department for assisting school districts in paying the excess costs involved in solving problems of racial imbalance in the schools.

This inconsistency noted in recent legislative action relating to school desegregation in New York State reflects the influences of a number of factors, including the current politically conservative climate of the State and nation, continuing irrational fears among large segments of the population and a splintering of the Negro movement into a variety of separatist groups. The situation is now indeed complicated, with some Negro groups demanding the continuation of segregated schooling, with control in the hands of the Negro community (Sizemore, 1969; Wilcox, 1969). The majority of whites and Negroes, however, still favor school integration as the primary solution to the problems resulting from separation of the races in most major facets of life in the United States (Pettigrew and Pajonas, 1964; Pettigrew, 1968; Newsweek, June 30, 1969).

The existence or establishment of legal and other machinery designed to eliminate either de jure or de facto segregation in the schools has generally appeared to make relatively little difference in achieving progress in school desegregation (Sullivan and Stewart, 1969). This has proved true in Massachusetts where the Commissioner of Education is empowered to withhold state aid when local boards fail to comply with the order to correct racial imbalance in the public schools. Sullivan lists a number of other states wherein legal provisions, which expressly recognize the rationale of Brown, have failed to show any real effect on the existence of de facto segregation in the schools in the North. Similarly, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been generally circumvented in a variety of ways in the South. The slow progress in school desegregation achieved through state and Federal laws and programs suggests that essentially the same human factors, which created extremes in inequality among the races in America in earlier years, are still in operation today. Given this situation, the educational leadership at all levels becomes a potentially potent factor in initiating noticeable progress in the elimination of racial segregation in the schools of the nation.

State Educational Policy Relating to the Elimination of De Facto Segregation

Major policy statements of the State Board of Regents and the efforts of the Education Department in implementing such policy have demonstrated the commitment of the educational leadership in New York State to the principle of equality of educational opportunity. Former Commissioner of Education, James E. Allen, Jr., at a hearing before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1966) spoke of the goal of education in New York State as follows:

> Within the basic goal of education in New York State, there are two overriding objectives:
>
> 1. Ensuring that the young people of the State are provided with opportunities for the highest possible quality of education.
>
> 2. Ensuring that these opportunities are made equally available to every individual wherever he may live in the State and without regard to creed, color, handicap, social or economic circumstances.
>
> We believe that the existence of racial isolation anywhere in the schools of our State is a barrier to the achievement of these objectives. Hence, it is the accepted responsibility and duty of the State Board of Regents, which coordinates and supervises all of education in New York State, of myself, as Commissioner of Education, and of the State Education Department to do everything within our power to remove this barrier. We believe the elimination of racial isolation and the achievement of quality education on an integrated basis to be the major challenge to education of our times (p. 305).

In an earlier (1963) statement to the teachers of New York State, Commissioner Allen had described the challenge represented by the existence of de facto segregation in the schools:

> The meeting of this challenge will not be easy. The situations which have created segregation have been long in the making--and their correction will not be quickly achieved. The emotional involvement is intense and turmoil and uncertainty, uneasiness and unrest are inevitable. That these are difficult, and at times discouraging days, is undeniable. Yet it is stimulating and heartening to realize that the struggle to eradicate segregation, while pointing up the weakness of our imperfections also emphasizes the strength of a society that honors the principle of equality and is sound enough and vigorous enough to endure this time of trial.
>
> A special responsibility rests upon educators in this period. Not only must we act firmly and with all possible speed to eliminate segregation, de jure or de facto, but we must also give renewed emphasis to the teaching of the principles of equal rights and freedom that motivates our actions.

Policy Statement, 1960--In an effort to cope with the de facto segregated schools in the State and to lend support to school communities, the Advisory Council on Intercultural Relations in Education recommended that the Board of Regents issue a statement of policy and principle. In 1960, the Regents issued such a statement calling for the elimination of racially isolated schools as follows:

> The State of New York has long held the principle that equal educational opportunity for all children, without regard to differences in economic, national, religious or racial background, is a manifestation of the vitality of our American democratic society and is essential to its continuation. This fundamental educational principal has long since been written into Education Law and policy. Subsequent events have repeatedly given it moral reaffirmation. Nevertheless, all citizens have the responsibility to reexamine the schools within their local systems in order to determine whether they conform to this standard so clearly seen to be the right of every child.
>
> Modern psychological knowledge indicates that schools enrolling students largely of homogeneous, ethnic origin, may damage the personality of minority group children. Such schools decrease their motivation and thus impair the ability to learn. Public education in such a setting is socially unrealistic, blocks the attainment of the goals of democratic education, and is

> wasteful of manpower and talent, whether this situation occurs by law or by fact.
>
> In seeking to provide effective education for all the children of this State, boards of education are faced with many obstacles in the form of complex social and community problems. Among them is the existence of residential segregation which leads to schools with students predominantly of one race on the elementary and high school levels.
>
> In spite of these and other difficulties, the Regents are determined to accept this challenge facing our schools today. We charge the Regents Advisory Council on Intercultural Relations in Education, working in close cooperation with the State Education Department, to assist in seeking solutions to the educational aspects of the problem....
>
> We recognize that we who have been given the responsibility for the education of the children and youth in our State can deal directly with only these educational aspects.... So long as these larger social problems remain unsolved, it will be difficult to solve some of the basic and related educational situations. For this reason, therefore, we call upon all our citizens and their agencies of government and their civic organizations to take concrete steps to provide the social climate which will make it possible for us to increase the effectiveness of education. Only with this cooperation, will we be able to provide that type of democratic education which will enable all children to contribute their understanding, knowledge and skills to increase the greatness of our State and our Nation (Regents Statement on Intercultural Relations in Education, NYSED, 1960).

Urban Education Policy Statement--In keeping with the Governor's publicly announced 20-point program for dealing with the urban crisis in New York State, the State Board of Regents in November 1967 released a position paper on Urban Education (NYSED, 1967). In this paper, the Regents "...direct the State Education Department to develop a strategy for the revitalization of urban school systems." The statement discusses quality incentive grants for urban education, urban teacher recruitment and training and planning grant demonstration projects and evaluation.

The new direction proposed in this position paper is a program for Quality Incentive Grants for Urban Education. This program provides coordinated and concentrated educational services to youth and adults in those parts of the State where there are high concentrations of children with low educational attainment.

The second proposal establishes a new program to recruit, train and place teachers and auxiliary personnel in disadvantaged urban areas. This program is intended to supplement current practices in teacher training, giving high priority to the use of personnel indigenous to disadvantaged areas for teaching and related tasks.

The third proposal deals with the development of a master plan for education in each of the major metropolitan areas of the State, to be developed cooperatively by the officials of the school districts and the State, with the help of qualified private or public planning agencies. The position paper is presented in full in Appendix A.

Integration and the Schools: Policy Statement--The State Board of Regents in January 1968 issued a position paper, Integration and the Schools, reaffirming their determination to see that segregation in education is eliminated. The policy statement cites the need for stronger action due to the fact that (NYSED, 1969a):

> Current conditions of unrest, frustration, and violence show all too clearly that not only is the struggle against racial prejudice and injustice far from over, but that a perilous weakening has taken place in the foundation of understanding and mutual respect upon which true social justice and human progress can be built.
>
> These conditions also dramatically point up the importance of education as the strength of this foundation--education that brings children together to grow up in natural, genuine understanding, and mutual respect, that produces responsible citizenship, that fosters behavior based on moral and spiritual values, that prepares for jobs, that creates the competence and instills

> the confidence for managing one's own life--education that does not mirror society's ills but provides a demonstration of the practicality, the workability of the principles of democracy, thus leading the way and setting the pattern for society to follow.

The statement discusses the growing problem as follows:

> Despite the determination and significant accomplishments of many in education, the growth of the problem has outstripped the efforts to deal with it.
>
> Racial imbalance within school districts is increasing in both suburban and urban communities: racial census reports show that between 1961 and 1966, in the 41 school districts with the highest percentage of Negro pupils (exclusive of New York City), the number of elementary schools with more than 50 percent Negro pupils increased from 60 to 72; the number with more than 90 percent Negro pupils increased from 25 to 33.
>
> Racial isolation among school districts is also increasing. In this same period, the percentage of Negro pupils in one suburban district rose to 82 and in another, to 71. In three other districts, the percentage surpassed 50.

The paper discusses five guiding principles and makes 13 recommendations or proposed applications of the guiding principles. The complete position paper is presented in Appendix B.

Administrative and Programmatic Responses to the Problem of De Facto Segregation

The primary function of the Board of Regents is to formulate the educational policy for the State. The Commissioner of Education is responsible for administering the policies established by the Regents. Following is a brief account of the efforts of the State Education Department in establishing administrative units and carrying out certain programs to eliminate segregation in the schools of New York State.

Fair Educational Practices Act

In 1948, the Regents appointed an administrator of the Fair

Educational Practices Act (a law enacted by the Legislature) to promote the elimination of discriminatory practices in any of the State's institutions of higher education. In 1954, the State Board of Regents established the Advisory Council on Intercultural Relations in Education to study discrimination in admission to colleges and universities and to offer possible solutions. Later, the responsibility of the Council was extended to include concern for equal educational opportunity at the elementary and secondary level. The Council pinpointed the inequitable quality of education in de facto segregated schools in the State and the resultant educational damage to all school children.

Division of Intercultural Relations in Education

In January 1957, the administrator's office responsibilities were broadened with the creation by the Board of Regents of a Division of Intercultural Relations in Education for the purpose of devoting intensive attention to problems of discrimination and segregation in education at the elementary and secondary school levels. The Division administers antidiscrimination legislation, assists in the development of programs designed to achieve integration and provides consultative services to local school officials. The Division has worked closely with the Advisory Committee and has carried out an ethnic census in the public schools.

Specifically, the Division of Intercultural Relations in Education:

1. Provides advisory and consultative services to local school officials on courses of action designed to eliminate racial imbalance.

2. Administers funds appropriated by the State Legislature to assist school districts in defraying excess costs in solving problems of racial imbalance.

3. Provides consultative services to school personnel on developing curricula which incorporate understanding of the contributions of minority groups to American life and history.

4. Publishes intergroup relations handbooks for teachers. Prepares and distributes bibliographies of books, pamphlets and visual aid materials and lends films dealing with intergroup understanding.
5. Provides consultative services on inservice training for school personnel. Conducts workshops for the development of materials and methods for teaching all children respect for the inherent worth of other human beings and an understanding and appreciation of racial and cultural diversity.
6. Provides assistance for surveys and studies to determine the extent to which equal educational opportunities are available to school children of different racial and cultural backgrounds.
7. Cooperates with other public and private agencies concerned with the improvement of intergroup relations in a community.
8. Provides consultation and assistance to school districts in developing programs for school-community cooperation.

During the 1960's the Division was heavily involved in efforts to accelerate the progress of integration in the schools. In recent years, in cooperation with the New World Foundation, the Education Department made available publications designed for integrating information about the Negro into daily teaching. Attempts are also being made to prepare resources for use in teacher education, classroom instruction and community enlightenment.

Guiding Principles

In 1962, the State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions was created. This committee was asked to advise and assist the Commissioner of Education and local school officials in dealing with the growing problems of *de facto* segregated schools. In June 1963, the committee published, *Guiding Principles for Dealing with De Facto Segregation in Public Schools*, which received wide circulation throughout the State. The document enunciates the primary principle that all schools should have an equitable distribution of the various ethnic and cultural groups in the municipality of the school district. The complete statement is contained in Appendix C.

Center on Innovation

In July 1964, the Center on Innovation was established in the Office of the Commissioner to encourage and guide constructive change in the educational system. This Center was requested to give priority to innovations and changes that would speed the achievement of quality integrated education. Largely funded by ESEA, Title III, the Center's primary concern has been the promotion of changes that will overcome the most crucial and persistent educational problems: the elimination of those educational inequalities associated with race or economic class. Projects funded throughout the State have attempted to reflect the urgent needs of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The development of increased sensitivity to and awareness of the multi-ethnic and multi-racial impact of minorities on all segments of the community is being promoted. Programs are operating which focus on sensitivity training for teachers, preparation of new teachers for teaching in urban systems and promotion of community-school-parent communications. Examples of such programs are: "A School-Community Approach to Improve Ethnic-Racial Relations: in Nassau County;" "Induction and Follow-up of Beginning Teachers," "Teacher-Self Help" and "Project Outreach of the New York City School Community Interaction Program."

In January 1969, the Center on Innovation became the Center for Planning and Innovation. In addition to its role as administrator of ESEA Title III, the Center now serves as the planning staff to all units in Elementary, Secondary and Continuing Education.

The new mission of the Center is to facilitate the State Education Department's organizational capacity for change. The Center participates with other units of the Department in the determination of critical educational needs, the assignment of priorities for solution and the development of educational programs to solve the problems.

As the Department develops its own capacity, the challenge is to develop ways to facilitate, with increasing effectiveness, meaningful change at the local level through broadly based community planning.

Urban Education Office

The Office of Urban Education was created by the State Board of Regents on August 1, 1968, to administer the funds allotted by the Legislature and to carry out the Regents' directive of developing a strategy to revitalize urban school systems. The Legislature for the school year 1968-69 appropriated \$52 million to carry out the proposals of the Board of Regents. The same amount (\$52 million) was appropriated for 1969-70. These funds are being used in part to create racial harmony in urban areas through community education centers.

The Urban Education Program provides for a wide range of local, State and Federal programs and services for the participating school districts. The following factors are taken into consideration in planning the Urban Education Programs: (1) integration, (2) community and student participation and planning, (3) utilization of community facilities, (4) realistic program design, (5) flexibility of projects, (6) economic use of resources, (7) provisions for coordination with other community services and related programs. The following list of program priorities are considered to be most effective in meeting pressing educational problems in urban school districts, and school districts are expected to consider these priorities in submitting projects for approval. Project approval is related to the degree to which these priorities have been recognized:

1. Early Childhood Education and Appropriate Follow-up
2. Basic Skills Education
3. Guidance and Counseling
4. Innovative Programs for Disaffected Youth
5. Model Demonstration Schools
6. Adult Basic Education

In the last ten years, the movement to provide compensatory education has resulted because education of the disadvantaged in the inner cities has been inadequate. The Urban Education Program is a major effort in the area of compensatory education in New York State to alleviate the educational problems of urban school districts.

School Census

In 1961, the Division of Intercultural Relations conducted a special school population census to determine the areas of concentration of Negro pupils in the elementary schools of the State. A questionnaire form was mailed to each district with at least one elementary school building. The census showed that there were 41 school districts with de facto segregated schools. A large proportion of these schools were in the "Big Six" cities which enroll 40 percent of the public school enrollment with concentrations of Negro students. The census served as an impetus to the Department in solving the problem of racial imbalance in several areas, for example, Mount Vernon, Albany, Nyack and Schenectady. A report on the census is included in Appendix D.

Racial Imbalance in the Schools

In June 1963, the Commissioner of Education circulated a special message to all chief local school administrators and Presidents of Boards of Education requesting all school districts in the State to submit by September of that year certain information as follows (New York State Education Department 1963a):

> 1. A statement indicating the situation in your district with regard to any problem of racial imbalance, regardless of the number of Negro children enrolled, or to the actual existence of or trend toward racial imbalance.
>
> 2. A statement of policy by your board of education with respect to the maintenance of racial balance in your schools.
>
> 3. In districts where racial imbalance exists, or is a problem, a report of progress made toward eliminating it.
>
> 4. In such districts, your plan for future action, including estimates of the additional cost, if any, and of the time required for carrying out your plan.

The purpose of this request was to survey plans for desegregation at the local level, since in keeping with the principle of local control it is the responsibility of local school authorities to develop and implement the necessary plans for correcting racial imbalance. The complete statement is found in Appendix E.

Pupil Evaluation Program

In the fall of 1965, the State Education Department instituted a Pupil Evaluation Program involving achievement tests for beginning first, third, sixth and ninth grade pupils. These tests were administered to 1.3 million public, parochial and private school children in reading and arithmetic, and the results made available to the local schools. This program enables schools, as well as the State Education Department, to identify areas of academic weakness. This is a Statewide testing program that provides teachers, schools and the State Education Department with an annual inventory of pupil achievement. The pupil evaluation data provides a comparison between school districts of similar population size characteristics. The pupil evaluation data affords a look at the "inner city" and its contiguous districts, thus, contributing most importantly to studying the need for integration and other approaches in certain areas of the State.

Funds for Correcting Racial Imbalance

For several years, with the support of Governor Rockefeller, the State Education Department requested special funds from the Legislature for use in stimulating and assisting school districts in developing plans and programs for correcting racial isolation in the schools and for improving the quality of integrated education. The Legislature approved an initial sum of $1 million in 1966. This was increased to $3 million in 1967 and remained the same for 1968 and 1969. These funds are administered by the Division of Intercultural Relations in Education.

A report (NYSED, 1968) on the projects funded under State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance was prepared for the years 1966-67 and 1967-68, by the Bureau of Department Programs Evaluation in cooperation with the Division of Intercultural Relations in Education and is now in the process of being updated. In 1966-67, 25 school districts were aided; in 1968-69, the number was 29. The study divided the projects funded into two categories: (1) desegregation projects involving the abolition of racial imbalance and (2) integration projects involving the unlearning of prejudices and establishing new democratic values through interaction in a nonsegregated environment.

The desegregation projects included (1) rental of relocatable classrooms, (2) transportation, (3) minor alterations of school buildings, (4) demographic studies and (5) integration planning. The integration projects included: (1) improvement of school-community relations; (2) development of inservice training programs and integrated curriculum materials; (3) reduction in class size; (4) the use of special services to support integration; and (5) the use of teacher aids, special instructional materials, tutorial programs and pupil personnel services.

In 1966-67, the State's share of the actual expenditures amounted to nearly $0.8 million; in 1967-68 this figure was increased to almost $2.5 million. In the first year, about 17 percent of the State Aid was spent on transportation of pupils, with 83 percent spent on all the other types of projects. In the second year, 11 percent of the State Aid was spent on transportation, with 89 percent or approximately $2.2 million spent on all other types of projects for correcting racial imbalance. The racial and ethnic census data for 1966-67 and 1967-68, indicated that in more than 30 percent (16 districts) of the districts receiving State Aid, the number of schools with a large percentage of Negroes tended to decrease.

The report concludes that State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance has proved to be an incentive to districts to proceed at a more rapid rate in effecting racial balance. The program has also given the districts, where racial imbalance is not a problem, an opportunity for greater understanding of minority groups and has inspired suburban districts to accept Negro children from the inner-city into their schools.

Other Activities

The State Education Department, at the request of local school authorities, has also conducted comprehensive studies of public school needs and presented such authorities with detailed findings and recommendations for correcting racial isolation and for raising generally the quality of the school systems. Studies of this nature were made in New York City and Buffalo (NYSED, 1964, 1966). Numerous seminars and conferences were conducted throughout the State in an effort to widen and deepen understanding of the problem and of how best to deal with it. Several teaching guides on integration were prepared and distributed to the schools of the State.

In-service training programs for teachers on the special problems of teaching in integrated schools have been sponsored and supported. Tuition grants have been made available to recent college graduates to encourage them to prepare to teach disadvantaged children in New York City. Integration has been encouraged in approving projects submitted by school districts under the provisions of Title I of ESEA. The enactment of bills introduced in the Legislature, which would be a handicap to State and local officials in correcting racial imbalance in the schools, has been resolutely opposed.

Leadership Factors in Desegregation in New York State

The Dodson study (1968), Citizen Response to School Desegregation, was undertaken by the Division of Intercultural Relations in Education in order to examine the broad spectrum of variables found in the school systems of the State in dealing with *de facto* segregation. The report examined 10 communities in New York State and attempted to analyze the various approaches dealing with racial imbalance in the schools and to provide generalizations about citizen involvement. In his foreword, Dodson (1968) refers to the great loss to the social sciences of the opportunity to have empirically researched the social engineering which has gone into school desegregation during the 14 years following the 1954 United States Supreme Court Decision. What are the answers to why some school districts have been able to integrate without much trouble while others are apparently unable to reach a workable plan without great pressure? This section discusses the leadership roles of the Commissioner of Education, the Superintendent of Schools, the Board of Education and the State Board of Regents in the area of school desegregation.

Commissioner of Education

In New York State, several of the integration cases requiring corrective action to eliminate racial imbalance involved legal steps. This action took place to a large extent because of the power given to the Commissioner of Education under Sections 305 and 310 of the Education Law.

Section 305 outlines the general powers and duties of the Commissioner of Education. Section 310 provides for appeals to the Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner's duties are both executive and judicial. In an executive capacity he directs the work of the State University of New York and the State Education Department. He is responsible for administering the policies established by the Regents and for the general supervision of the schools of the State. With the approval of the Regents, he promulgates regulations for putting into effect the Education Law and the Regents Rules. As a judicial officer, the Commissioner serves as a court of appeals for the public school system adjudicating all controversies which may be brought before him under the provisions of the Education Law.

A number of appeals concerning racial imbalance have been brought to the Commissioner of Education under Section 310 of the Education Law. Actions have been brought against the school boards of Amityville, Buffalo, Malverne, Mount Vernon, Westbury, Glen Cove and Roosevelt.

In Amityville, the Section 310 proceedings were brought about because of racial imbalance in the elementary schools. Of the three elementary schools, one was 96.8 percent Negro, one was 4 percent Negro and the third was 36.4 percent Negro. On December 21, 1965, the Commissioner of Education ordered the School Board to prepare and deliver to him on or before March 15, 1966, a plan for the elimination of racial imbalance, such plan to be effective for the school year 1966-67. As a result, the local board approved a plan to reorganize its schools so that one building would house grades K-1, another grades 2-4 and the other grades 5-6.

In Glen Cove, Section 310 proceedings were brought in 1963 as a result of a complaint that the South School (elementary) was segregated. In November 1965, the Board of Education met with representatives of the NAACP. The Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions was present at the meeting. An agreement was reached to operate the schools on a 4-4-4 plan. Both parties agreed to the withdrawal of the Section 310; action was made official on December 15, 1965.

In Westbury, Section 310 proceedings were filed in September 1963 because the New Cassel School was more than 90 percent Negro. In April 1965, the Board of Education voted to desegregate the school and the Section 310 proceedings were withdrawn.

The aforementioned special school population census made to secure facts about the racial pattern in the public elementary schools of the State was instrumental in pinpointing the areas where it was necessary to attack the problem of racial imbalance. Mount Vernon is an example of where the impetus for change clearly came from the Commissioner's request for a census. The Board of Education of Mount Vernon on July 5, 1963, approved a model statement of policy declaring its intention to correct racial imbalance within the city.

Dodson (1968) also believes that a strong education department plays a large part in integration. In his report he states:

> Most important of all, perhaps, is the leadership of the Commissioner of Education of the State. It would be hard to overestimate his leadership through these years, as he has with patience, but firmness provided the most forward leadership of men of his position throughout the country. The census he required and the subsequent pressure he has exerted have gone far toward eradicating this matter as an educational issue in the State. But equally important, he has set the tone of the remainder of the nation. His skill in inducing the State Legislature to provide supplementary funds to assist communities facing this problem has been of inestimable value. Above all has been the diplomacy of his office as it has helped forge answers in the fields in which no answers or any adequate answer hitherto existed (Dodson 1968, p. 146).

Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools

Dodson (1968) in his summation listed one of the major generalizations stemming from his study: "The impetus for change must come from the outside, thereby providing the school decision-makers the rationale that they had no choice but to move (p. 140)." Dodson (1968) further reports, "There is no record of a board of education or a superintendent of schools who, on his own initiative, challenged the community to act on the desegregation problem without some prodding (p. 140)."

Another major generalization of Dodson (1968) is that "Successful desegregation is dependent upon the leadership of the power arrangement of the community (p. 142):"

> The most brilliant desegregation efforts have been those where the power arrangement was cohesive and reasonable to the entire community. It was the greatest failure at those points where community power was fragmented and the leadership used its leverage to oppose desegregation. The leadership role of the superintendent appeared to be, perhaps, the most significant factor of all those considered in the study. Some data suggest that in larger school systems the principal is, perhaps, the most important single factor at a local level, but that the attitudes of the principal and the faculty, in no small measure, are a reflection of the leadership at the top (p. 142).

Dodson's data show that it makes no difference whether a school board is appointed or elected in expediting correction of racial imbalance. He further asserts "...when separate interests are polarized, the elected board as in Mount Vernon and Malverne tends to be a tyrannical majority (p. 142)."

Dentler (1966) believes that the factors that make integration possible are of particular nature:

> From participation in several school desegregation programs in smaller Northern communities, I would speculate that there are some rather uniform conditions under which desegregation becomes possible politically and educationally. Negroes must protest in a visible, unequivocal manner. This must resonate positively with some segment of the white population which already commands the attention of local schoolmen or board members.
>
> Of equal importance is a clear, sufficiently intense stimulus from state or other extra-local authorities. Little change has occurred in Pennsylvania and Illinois, where many smaller cities maintain segregated schools because of weak state educational agencies. It also seems plain from case experiences that a community must be free from a very highly stratified class structure grounded substantially in religious or racial groupings. The prospect of too severe a change in the foundations of the local structure of social rewards is relatively certain to prevent school desegregation (pp. 48-49).

Dentler (1966) in his study of leadership factors in desegregation concluded:

> Northern school desegregation is not difficult to accomplish in smaller cities and suburbs. Where the school superintendents of such communities have allied themselves with state authority and have responded to the protest from their Negro clientele, desegregation has been proven politically safe as well as technically feasible. Moreover, the educational outcomes of most of the efforts to date have been highly encouraging to professionals....
>
> The major part of the problem centers in a dozen of the largest central cities. The ability to advance desegregation depends mainly on state authority and on board and community politics (pp. 59-62).

Crain (1969) on the other hand states:

> It is commonly assumed that school superintendents exert much more influence over the policy of the school system than does the school board. Our data show the precise opposite: the school board sets the tone of the integration decision and the superintendent plays a less important role (p. 378).

The views presented above appear to be contradictory. However, when the types of districts that were examined are considered, analysis tends to bring the statements into better perspective. Crain's study deals with a number of cities in various parts of the country; Dodson investigated 10 districts in New York State. Dodson's districts included several cities but for the most part the districts studied are suburban. Dentler (1966) reports "...no Northern big city superintendent has committed himself emphatically to the pursuit of school desegregation (p. 57)." It appears that at the local level the superintendent may play the leading role in certain types of districts while the board of education may play the leading role in other districts, namely the big cities.

The city in New York State that has had the least trouble desegregating is White Plains. Dodson (1968) offers a number of reasons for the general lack of friction experienced in the White Plains integration program:

> In White Plains, it is difficult to separate the role of the Board from that of the Superintendent. In many communities the impression is given that a board dominates the superintendent or else that the superintendent dominates the board. One does not get this impression of White Plains. It appears to be a bringing together of the policy-making body and the expertise of the educator in the most creative way.
>
> One is tremendously impressed in White Plains with the role of the superintendent. The skill he has brought to resolving differences, allaying fears and securing forward movement without disruption is scarcely short of phenomenal. One, of course, must be reminded that

> White Plains is probably an easy place in which to be superintendent; but undoubtedly, his leadership has contributed to making it that kind of community (p. 85).

Board of Regents

The primary function of the Board of Regents is to formulate the educational policy of the State and to promote and encourage the extension and improvement of education throughout the State. The regents are firmly dedicated to the provision of opportunities for each student to develop his unique abilities, talents and interest to the fullest. A broad range of efforts, as discussed in the early part of this chapter, is underway to overcome the conditions which limit the attainment of equal opportunity. The 1960's has been a period of renewed and constant effort to eliminate racial imbalance in New York State school districts, to ensure the young people of New York State the highest possible quality of education and to ensure that these opportunities are made equally available to every individual regardless of color, creed, social or economic status.

On January 28, 1960, the Regents issued their statement on Intercultural Relations in Education. They pointed to their determination to accept the challenge of de facto segregation which leads to racially isolated schools. In this statement the Regents charged their Advisory Council on Intercultural Relations in Education, in cooperation with the State Education Department, to assist in seeking solutions to the educational aspects of the problem. The efforts of the State Education Department that followed this statement included: the School Census beginning in 1961, the statement of Guiding Principles for Dealing with De Facto Segregation in Public Schools in 1963; the Commissioner's Survey of Integration Plans in 1963; the establishment of a Center on Innovation in 1964 and an Office of Urban Education in 1968, all of which culminated in the Regents Policy

Statement on Integration and the Schools in January 1968.

Progress Assessed

The progress made in reducing racially imbalanced schools in New York State has been due to a number of factors which include the leadership of the Board of Regents and the State Education Commissioner; the pressure of groups seeking aid in the Commissioner's office, the courts or in the local school districts; leadership of the office of the superintendent and/or the board of education and the initiative of local school districts. Dodson (1968) reported that the greatest impetus for change was the State Education Commissioner's leadership beginning with the census request. The evaluation of State funded projects for correcting racial imbalance (NYSED, 1968) reported a decrease in the number of schools with a great percentage of Negroes in over half of the school districts receiving State aid for this purpose. In some school districts in New York State the problem of racial imbalance has been completely solved, in other districts considerable progress has been made, but in a number of school districts, particularly the large cities, the situation has grown more acute. Chapter II of the present report shows that the number and proportion of minority children in schools with more than 49 percent minority pupils has grown substantially over the two school years preceding 1969-70. Racial isolation in New York State schools has increased and has been most severely intensified in those schools that already had large proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Recent Legal History Relating to School Desegregation in the State and Nation

In the decade and a half since the United States Supreme Court decided Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483, the problem of school desegregation has come before various fora in a variety of postures. Being highly controversial in terms of its political sociology, the Brown decision has become the subject of conflicting interpretations with respect to its legal import. What follows here is a brief review of the various ways in which the problem has been treated, analyzed in terms of the positions of the litigant involved.

Based on its own facts, Brown prohibits only positive governmental action directly achieving separate school systems for Negroes. The rationale of this unanimous decision of the High Court is much broader, however. It is the injury caused by separation of the races in the educational process. The opinion specifically states that the "...impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law." The opinion thus clearly shows that the rationale of Brown includes de facto segregation as well.

At the same time however, it is a fact that the United States Supreme Court has not as yet directly ruled on the question of de facto segregation. It may be presumed that the reason for this is the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, at this point, of formulating any kind of a workable general rule that will fit all situations. Although some partial answers have emerged, there remains the problem of what to do, for instance, in areas where the concentration of Negroes is so heavy that any solution that would fit smaller and more heterogenous communities is simply impractical. At the same time however it is also fact that both state and federal courts have consistently sustained any reasonable action taken by state and local agencies for the purpose of reducing racial imbalance (U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1967, p. 185).

In a 1963 decision, the Commissioner of Education, State of New York, ordered that attendance zones in a school district be redrawn to eliminate racial imbalance growing out of residence patterns (Matter of Mitchell, 2 Ed.

Dept. Rep. 501). The Commissioner's order was upheld in the state and federal courts and the United States Supreme Court declined to review the decision (Matter of Vetere v. Allen, 41 Misc 2d 200, revd. 21 AD 2d 561, affd. 15 N. Y. 2d 259, cert. den. 382 U. S. 825; sub. nom. Olson v. Allen, 250 F. Supp. 1000; 367 F. 2d 565). A challenge to the implementation of a plan ordered by the Commissioner for the alleviation of racial imbalance was similarly rejected by the Federal courts (Offerman v. Nitkowski, 248 F. Supp. 129, affd. 378 F. 2d 22). In the last six years, the Commissioner has ordered numerous school districts in the State to take appropriate action, and while his decisions have been met with some local opposition, on the whole they have been well received.

Thus at least prior to the enactment of L. 1969, c. 342, the Commissioner's position was that, upon an appeal brought by school children of the affected district, in the appropriate circumstances the local board of education would be ordered to take positive steps to alleviate or, hopefully, to eliminate racial imbalance. The usual procedure was for the Commissioner to find that imbalance existed, and order a plan, or alternative plans, to be submitted to him for approval before being implemented. In evaluating the proposals submitted, and in formulating his own alternatives, the Commissioner drew heavily upon the expert resources of the State Education Department in the areas of educational finance, intercultural relations and educational policy. It is largely in recognition of the Regents' powers in the area of educational policy, and of the Department's expertise in this field, that the Courts have sustained his determinations. Thus, in Matter of Vetere v. Allen, the Court of Appeals said:

> The issue posed by the petitioner in terms of racial balance, which balance the Commissioner now avers is essential to a sound education, is not reviewable by this court....

> Here the Board of Regents under authority of Section 207 of the Education Law has declared racially imbalanced schools to be educationally inadequate. The Commissioner under sections 301 and 305 of the Education Law has implemented this policy by directing local boards to take steps to eliminate racial imbalance. These decisions are final absent a showing of pure arbitrariness.
>
> The Commissioner's decision in this case rests squarely on his findings of the inadequacy of such schools from the viewpoint of educational soundness....
>
> Disagreement with the sociological, psychological and educational assumptions relied on by the Commissioner cannot be evaluated by this court. Such arguments can only be heard in the Legislature which has endowed the Commissioner with an all but absolute power, or by the Board of Regents, who are elected by the Legislature and make public policy in the field of education (15 N. Y. 2d 259, 265, 267).

Of course, some boards of education did not need the impetus of the Commissioner's decision to take positive steps to improve racial balance. Such actions have been upheld in the State courts with reference to a variety of plans, including the designation of attendance zones in New York City (Matter of Balahan v. Rubin, 40 Misc 2d 249, revd. 20 AD 438, affd. 14 NY 2d 193, cert. den. 379 U. S. 881) and an arrangement whereby inner-city pupils were transferred to suburban schools (Etter v. Littwitz, 47 Misc. 2d 473).

Thus, the State courts have uniformly upheld orders of the Commissioner as well as action taken in the first instance by local boards of education. On the other hand, there appear to be no cases in which a local board of education was sued in the first instance in State Court to compel desegregation. While chapter 342 was clearly aimed at diminishing the powers of the Commissioner of Education, it would appear that a side effect will be to take the matter of racial imbalance out of the State courts as well, since de novo actions are not, as a matter of practice, brought there.

It should be noted, however, that the courts of other states have not found it difficult to arrive at the same conclusions as did the New York

State Board of Regents, with respect to the effects of racial isolation in the public schools. For instance, the California Supreme Court has said:

> So long as large numbers of Negroes live in segregated areas, school authorities will be confronted with difficult problems in providing Negro children with the kind of education they are entitled to have. Residential segregation is in itself one evil which tends to frustrate the youths in the area and to cause antisocial attitudes and behavior. Where such segregation exists, it is not enough for a school board to refrain from affirmative discriminatory conduct. The harmful influence on the children will be reflected and intensified in the classroom if alone attendance is determined on a geographic basis without corrective measures. The right to an equal opportunity for education and the harmful consequences of segregation, require that school boards take steps, insofar as reasonably feasible, to alleviate racial imbalance in schools regardless of its cause (Jackson v. Pasadena City School District, 382 Pac. 2d 878, 59, Cal. 2d 876).

As mentioned above, the Federal courts have likewise upheld the Commissioner's power to order the alleviation of racial imbalance. There are two additional ways in which school desegregation suits have reached the United States courts. The first is by means of litigation instituted by private parties against the local school district, the second by means of suits brought by the United States government. Regardless of the posture of the suit, the courts have been enunciating broad principles which, like the statement quoted above, are fully consistent with the position taken by the Board of Regents and the Commissioner of Education in New York State.

The procedure in the first instance follows the traditional pattern of a case instituted by a group of individuals against the local school board. In a few instances, courts have been reluctant to intervene in the absence of a showing of bad faith on the part of school authorities, particularly where the factual circumstances were highly complicated (Bell v. School City of Gary, Indiana, 324 F. 2d 209; Henry v. Godsell 163 F. Supp. 87). However, most courts have had no trouble in construing long standing policy or official inaction as an illegal maintenance of separate or unconstitutionally imbalanced schools.

Thus, as stated previously, one Court found that the New Rochelle School District in New York State was acting unlawfully when it gerrymandered attendance zone lines so as to perpetuate a high degree of racial imbalance and then refused to alter those lines so as to alleviate the situation. The perpetuation of separate schools was held to be as great a constitutional evil as the establishment of separate schools. In discussing the Brown case, the Court said, "Necessarily implied in its proscription of segregation was the positive obligation of eliminating it" (Taylor v. Board of Education, 191 F. Supp. 181, 195 F. Supp. 231, 288 F. 2d 600, affd. 294 F. 2d 36, cert. den. 368 U. S. 940).

Likewise dealing with a New York State School District, a United States District Court found that:

> The central constitutional fact is the inadequacy of segregated education...that the public schools must deal with the inadequacy arising from adventitious segregation... /and/...can not accept and indurate segregation on the ground that it is not coerced or planned but accepted.

The Court further stated:

> Failure to deal with a condition, as really inflicts it, as does any grosser imposition of it... How far that duty extends is not answerable perhaps in terms of an unqualified obligation to integrate public education without regard to circumstances and it is certainly primarily the responsibility of the educational authorities and not the courts to form the educational system (Branch v. Board of Education, 204 F. Supp. 150).

School pairing plans have been upheld consistently:

Addabo v. Donovan, 43 Misc. 2d 621; 22 AD 2d 383; 16 NY 2d 619; cert. den. 382 U.S. 905;

Schnepp v. Donovan, 42 Misc. 2d 917;

Van Blerkom v. Board of Education, 44 Misc. 2d 356; 22 AD 2d 71; 15 NY 2d 399.

Likewise transfers between schools for the purpose of correcting racial imbalance in Rochester and Syracuse were upheld by the State courts against claims of unconstitutional interference with the rights of white children involved.

Katalinic v. Syracuse Board of Education, 44 Misc. 2d 734;

Di Sano v. Storandt, 43 Misc. 2d 272; revd. 22 AD 2d 6;

Strippoli v. Bickal, 42 Misc. 2d 534; revd. 21 AD 2d 365; affd. 16 NY 2d 652.

Other cases upholding similar action are:

Steinberg v. Donovan, 45 Misc. 2d 432;

Morean v. Montclair Board of Education, (New Jersey) 42 N.J. 237;

Barksdale v. Springfield School Committee, (Massachusetts) 237 F. Supp. 543;

Fuller v. Volk et al., (New Jersey) 230 F. Supp. 25.

The above decisions of the State and Federal courts are but a small sample of similar action taken throughout the United States since Brown.

Another Federal court decision involving a school district in New York State similarly held that a failure to rezone which resulted in almost total racial isolation was unconstitutional. The Court expressed this view of the function of the public schools:

> The denial of the right not to be segregated cannot be assuaged or supported by evidence indicating that underachievement in the three R's may be due in whole or in part to low socioeconomic level, home influence or measured intelligence quotient. The role of public education in our democracy is not limited to these academic subjects. It encompasses a broader preparation for participation in the mainstream of our society. Public education is the very foundation of good citizenship (Blocker v. Board of Education, 226 F. Supp. 208, 228).

Another well-known case involved the school system in Washington, D. C. There the judge reviewed many aspects of the operation of the system and found that the schools were failing in their task. The particular function of the schools in our society was commented on in the following words:

> If the situation were one involving racial isolation but in some facility other than the public schools, or unequal educational opportunity but without any Negro or poverty aspects (e.g., unequal schools all within an economically homogeneous white suburb), it might be pardonable to uphold the practice on a minimal showing of rational basis. But the fusion of these two elements in de facto segregation in public schools irresistibly calls for additional justification. What supports this call is our horror at inflicting any further injury on the Negro, the degree to which the poor and the Negro must rely on the public schools in rescuing themselves from their depressed cultural and economic condition, and also our common need for the schools to serve as the public agency for neutrality and normalizing race relations in this country. With these interests at stake, the courts must ask whether the virtues stemming from the Board of Education's pupil assignment policy (here the neighborhood policy)are compelling or adequate justification for the considerable evils of de facto segregation which adherence to this policy breeds (Hobson v. Hansen, 269 F. Supp. 401, 508).

Thus, it is clear, in principle, that law suits aimed at ending racial imbalance will probably succeed in the courts, although each new decision, particularly in the North, is still greeted with considerable interest. Nonetheless, the burden of pursuing litigation in the Federal courts is a heavy one, and about five years ago, many began to feel that the Federal government should assume the task of enforcing desegregation. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gives the Federal government the power to bring court actions to compel desegregation. This power has been used, but with varying degrees of effectiveness.

In a case involving the South Holland, Illinois, school district, the judge spoke in ringing terms of the promises of the Constitution and the realities of denial of equal educational opportunity. He said:

> It is more than fourteen years since the Supreme Court ruled that 'in the field of public education the doctrine

of separate but equal has no place'. It is more than thirteen years since the Court said that desegregation should proceed 'with all deliberate speed.' Too often there has been deliberation but no speed. There has not even been a beginning in some cases, despite increasing and well documented evidence showing that racial segregation in the schools has been detrimental to the Negro child, the white child, and to the United States.

School segregation, however the cause, has the effect of stigmatizing Negro pupils and retarding their educational development. The mere fact of separation encourages invidious comparison; and the false conclusion that the Negro pupil is inferior to the white pupil is tragically forced on the black child himself through constant elaboration and repetition....

The white opponents of pupil and faculty integration, on the other hand, are doing a disservice to their own children when they deprive them of the opportunity to know members of another race and to be saved from the ignorant, arrogant belief that a white skin is proof of preeminence. The white child's education is woefully inadequate if it does not illuminate those dark corners of the mind in which prejudice lurks. Both white and black children are being misled when they are told, directly or by implication, that it is best for them to be taught only by members of their own race. They are being cheated when they are deprived of the experience of working together and learning about one another in school as preparation for life in an interracial world of adults.

Barriers to understanding not only cripple the individual but also endanger the nation. Clearly, the future of the United States depends in no small part on education-- not the education of white children but the education of all children. We do not need another fact-finding commissioner to tell us that something must be done to prevent a school situation which produces apathy and hopelessness that cause a life to be wasted, or frustration and anger that cause it to be risked in public disorders. It is not rational to maintain a situation which is conducive to the kind of behavior that we must prevent or to expect schools to produce law abiding citizens in a school system that flouts the law. School boards and school administrators have a moral and civic duty as well as a legal duty to end segregation. To fail the Negro child would be to fail the nation (United States v. School District 151 of Cook County, Illinois, 286 F. Supp. 786, 788-789).

Summary

In the early history of the United States there were no formal provisions for educating the Negro, in fact, laws were passed prohibiting their education in many states. Following the Civil War, the chances of a Negro obtaining an education were improved in both the North and the South. By 1900 in certain parts of the South limited financial support was provided for separate educational facilities, mainly in the areas of elementary and vocational education. In 1900, New York State passed Section 3201 of the Education Law, the purpose of which was to prevent segregated educational facilities.

During the first half of the 1900's a series of legal attacks against segregated education took place in several of the states. The climax of these many cases was the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in the well-known Brown case in which the Court decided that the doctrine of "separate but equal" had no place in public education, thus making the goal of public school desegregation a legal possibility.

New York State has had a long history in the area of civil rights. It has shown a strong, positive, and consistent response in attempting to eliminate de facto segregation. This is a history in which the Legislature, the Governor, the State Board of Regents and the State Education Department have shown firm dedication to eliminating segregation in the public schools of New York State, and have provided opportunities for each student to develop his unique abilities, talents and interest to the fullest extent. The Board of Regents through its determination of policy on integration in New York State has had a leading role in eliminating segregated education in the State. The Commissioner of Education has been a moving force for integration in the State and has set an example for the rest of the nation. His leadership in integrating school districts up to the present time has been a most important factor. Integration has taken place with the most ease in districts where the superintendent and the board of education have worked together. The superintendent usually has had the leading role in the smaller communities while the Board of Education has had a more significant role in the larger cities.

The New York State Commissioner of Education in carrying out the policies of the Board of Regents has taken several steps during the last 20 years to provide administrative and programmatic resources for the elimination of segregation. These include: establishment of an office for the administration of the Fair Educational Practices Act of 1948; a study, in 1954, of discrimination in admission to higher education institutions by the Advisory Council on Intercultural Relations in Education whose responsibilities were later expanded to the area of elementary and secondary education; the creation of a Division of Intercultural Relations in Education in 1957 which administers funds provided by the State legislature to assist school districts in solving problems of racial imbalance, assists in the development of programs designed to achieve integration, provides consultative services to local school officials and administers antidiscrimination legislation; the creation of the State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions in 1962 to advise and assist the Commissioner and local school officials in dealing with the growing problem of de facto segregated schools; a statement of Guiding Principles for Dealing with De Facto Segregation in Public Schools in 1963; the establishment of a Center on Innovation in 1964 to encourage and guide constructive change in the educational system; the creation of the Office of Urban Education in 1968 to administer funds and carry out the Regents' directive of developing a strategy to revitalize urban school systems; the conduct of an ethnic census to indicate how the Department could be better prepared to attack the problem of racial imbalance; and the institution of a Pupil Evaluation Program which affords a look at the "inner-city" and its contiguous districts in studying the needs for integration in certain areas of the State.

In some school districts in New York State the problem of racial imbalance has been completely solved, while in other districts considerable progress has been made. In a number of school districts, particularly the large cities, racial isolation has increased substantially. A much greater effort will be needed in the immediate future if the goal of ending de facto segregation in all school districts of New York State is to be achieved. Concerning progress made in achieving racial balance in New York State schools, Commissioner Allen in the Hearing before the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Rochester, New York, September 16-17, 1966, spoke about the efforts of the Board of Regents and the State Education Department as follows:

> We believe, Mr. Chairman, that these and many other steps we have taken and those that have been initiated at the local level, have placed New York State in the forefront in the nationwide effort to come to grips with the tremendously difficult and complex problem with which this hearing is concerned. Significant progress has been, and is being made toward bringing about those conditions which will make possible a school system where discrimination, injustice and inequality of educational opportunity will no longer prevail, and where the educational needs and desires of every child can be fully cared for regardless of his race, color, creed, social or economic status, or place of residence.
>
> But despite the depth of our commitment and the strong efforts that have been made, only a beginning has been achieved (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,1966, pp. 306-307).

CHAPTER II

POPULATION PATTERNS AND SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS

The purpose of this chapter is to review nationwide population trends and their effects on school integration and to examine population trends in New York State and the current status of integration in the public schools of the State. The examination of integration in the schools will identify school districts with minority concentrations, analyze pupil enrollment trends within these districts and measure the extent to which pupils of varying racial and ethnic backgrounds are mingled in the schools.

The demographic facts and figures provide a clear definition of the magnitude of the problem to be confronted in the continuing quest for equality of educational opportunity.

The Negro in the Nation

In 1950, there were 15 million Negroes in the United States, in 1966, 21.5 million. In 1950, 10 percent of the American population was Negro, in 1966, 11 percent (U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968; hereafter referred to as NACCD).

In 1910, 91 percent of the Negro population lived in the South; 73 percent of all Negroes lived in rural areas and cities of less than 2,500 persons. By 1966, only 55 percent of the Negro population lived in the South; 69 percent of all Negroes lived in metropolitan areas, with nearly half of these, or one-third of all Negroes in the country, living in 12 major cities (NACCD, 1968).

These figures establish two facts:

1. The increase in the number and proportion of Neg in the total population.
2. The concentration of the Negro in urban America.

Population Increases

The growth of the Negro population is part of an overall increase. The entire population of the United States has moved upward from 133 million in 1940 to 152 million in 1950 to 197 million in 1966 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1967). However, the Negro population is increasing at a faster rate than is the white population. Between 1940 and 1960, following the depression of the 1930's, the number of whites increased by 34 percent, while the number of Negroes increased by 46.6 percent. Since 1960 the white population has increased 7.4 percent, the Negro population 14.4 percent. The more recent figures reflect the decline in the nation's birth rate which began in 1958, but which has been more marked for whites than for Negroes. In 1965, the fertility rate for white women was 91.4 per 1,000; for nonwhite women it was 133.9 (NACCD, 1968).

The higher Negro birth rate has resulted in a greater proportion of Negroes in the lower age groups than in the total population. In 1968, the median age for Negroes was 21.1 compared to 29.1 for the white population. One out of every six children under the age of five is Negro. The higher Negro birth rate also forecasts an ever-increasing proportion of Negroes in the total population. In 1950, at least one of every 10 Americans was Negro; in 1966, one of nine was Negro; and in 1972, if the current trend continues, one out of eight will be Negro (NACCD, 1968).

Concentration in Urban Centers

The movement of Negroes from the South to the big cities of the

North began before the Civil War. This migration--the Negro's effort to find a better life away from slavery and its aftermath--was given periodic impetus by declining agriculture in the South and the industrial needs of the North and West in times of national crisis. World War II brought an especially heavy influx of Negroes to urban centers, an influx which continued into the late 1950's.

Once in the city, the Negro remained a city dweller. Economic limitations and residential restrictions have barred further movement. But, among the rest of the population, the trend for the past 25 years has been from the city to the suburbs. The combination of inmigration of Negroes and outmigration of white city residents has resulted in disproportionate numbers of Negroes in the cities in comparison with their representation in the total population. This disparity is intensified by the Negro birth rate and will become more pronounced. It is predicted that 13 major central cities of the country will be over 50 percent Negro in 1985 (NACCD, 1968).

Overall figures on urban centers do not reflect the segregation of Negroes within the cities. Like other immigrants, Negroes, as newcomers to the city, have lived in the oldest sections. Economic disadvantagement and discriminatory practices have kept them from moving elsewhere. Where breakthroughs have been made, "white flight," the rush of homeowners to dispose of their property and move away, has often brought resegregation.

Consequences for the Schools

The growth in the Negro population, its comparative youth, and its higher birth rate are having a predictable effect on public school populations. Negro school enrollments are rising throughout the country. Moreover, because of their concentration in urban centers, Negroes already, or will soon, dominate many large city school systems. For example, in 1965-66, 17 large city school systems in the country including seven of the 10 biggest had Negro majorities in the elementary schools. In only two of these cities, Washington, D.C. and Newark, New Jersey, did Negroes exceed 50 percent of the general population (NACCD, 1968).

Within a school system, the concentration of Negroes in individual schools is apt to be far greater than their proportion in the total enrollment. In 1965, in 75 major central cities, 75 percent of the Negro elementary pupils attended schools that were 90 percent or more Negro, while 83 percent of the white elementary children were in schools that were 91 percent or more white. These school systems were in both the North and the South, and the isolation of the Negroes held regardless of the proportion of Negroes in the total system (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967).

Population Trends in New York State

As a major Northern industrial state, New York has shared with the Nation the effects of Negro migration and population growth. It has also experienced the development of a second minority group, the Puerto Ricans. These are the facts that highlight the population picture in New York State:

1. Nonwhites--Negroes, Orientals and Indians--increased from less than 600,000 in 1940 to an estimated 2 million in 1967. Negroes make up 95 percent of the nonwhite population (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

2. The proportion of nonwhites in the total State population jumped from 4.4 percent in 1940 to an estimated 10.1 percent in 1967 (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

3. In 1967, 97 percent of the nonwhites in New York State lived in six metropolitan areas; 86 percent lived in the New York City Metropolitan area; 75 percent of the total in New York City itself (New York State Division of the Budget, 1969).

4. The vast majority of nonwhites live in urban centers

within the metropolitan areas so that the proportions of nonwhites are much greater in the cities than in surrounding communities. In two urban communities, they exceed 25 percent of the total population (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

5. Nonwhites outside of the cities are concentrated in color pockets in otherwise white suburban communities.
6. Puerto Ricans, the second minority group in New York State, have increased an estimated 59 percent since 1960. Ninety-five percent of all Puerto Ricans in the State live in New York City (New York State Division of Human Rights, 1969).

Population Increases

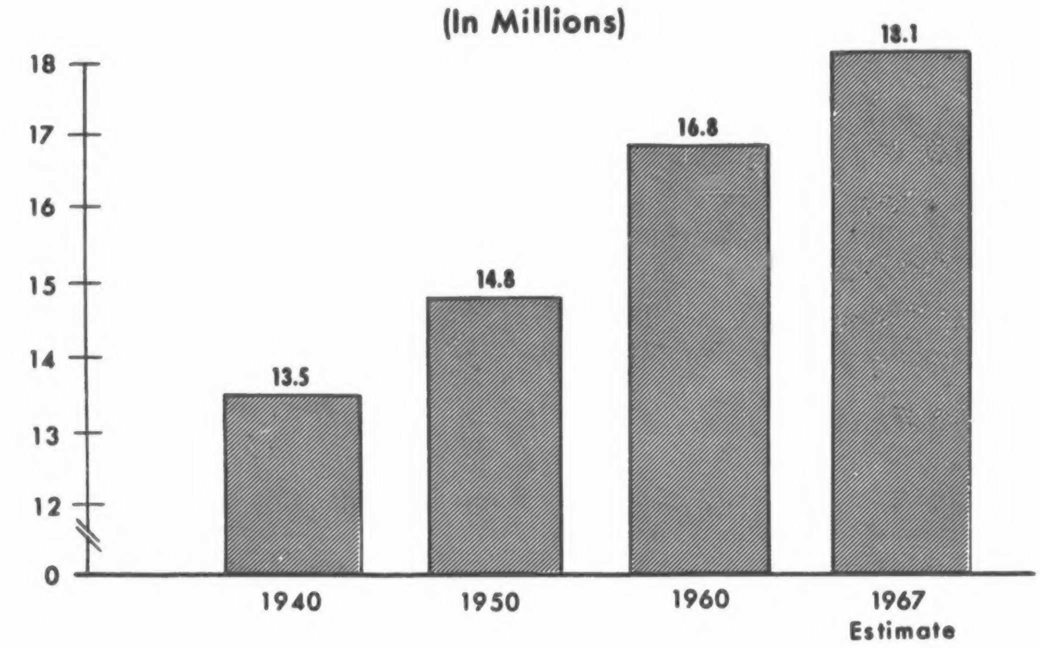
As in the Nation, the increase in the Negro population in New York State is part of an overall increase. In 1940, there were 13.5 million "New York Staters;" in 1967, there were an estimated 18 million, a 33 percent increase. In the same period, the nonwhite population more than trebled; so that there were nearly 2 million where there were once less than 600,000 (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

Figures 1 and 2 show the upward progression of the total population and the nonwhite population in New York State from 1940 to 1967; Figure 3 shows the percentage increases for the total population, whites and nonwhites; and Figure 4 shows the proportion of nonwhites in the total population over the years. Tabular data for Figures 1 through 4 are given in Table 41, Appendix F.

The radical decline in the rate of nonwhite increase reflects the drop in Negro migration from the South. However, in absolute numbers, the average annual increase for nonwhites has remained nearly as high in the 1960's as in the 1950's when it was 54,000 per year (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

During these years of population growth, the percentage increases for nonwhites have far outstripped those for whites as shown in Figure 3.

FIGURE 1
TOTAL POPULATION IN NEW YORK STATE
1940-1967[1]
(In Millions)



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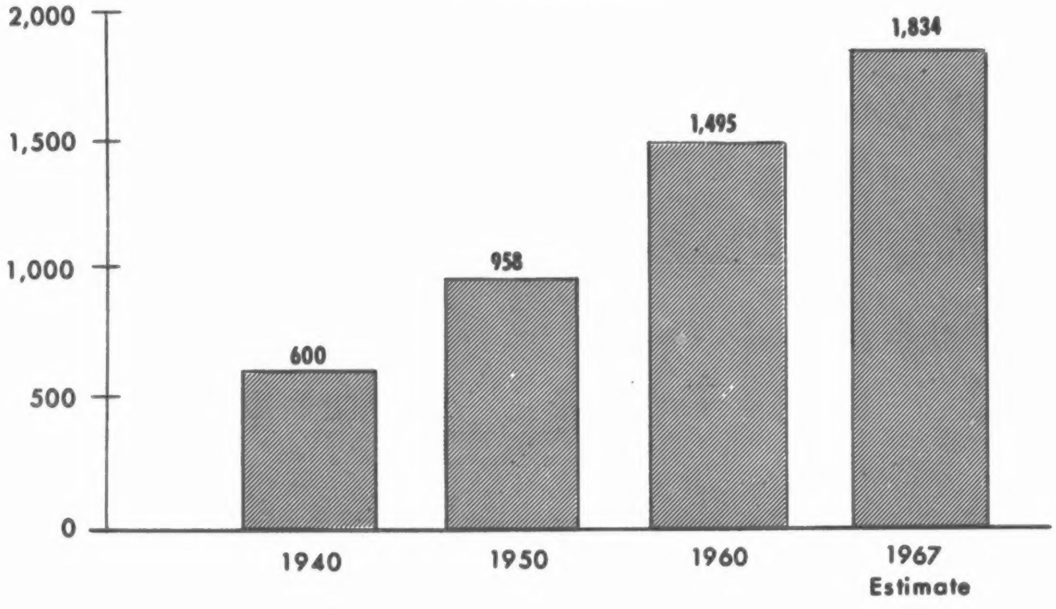
[1] Based on data from the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967).

FIGURE 2
NONWHITE POPULATION IN NEW YORK STATE
1940-1967[2]
(In Thousands)



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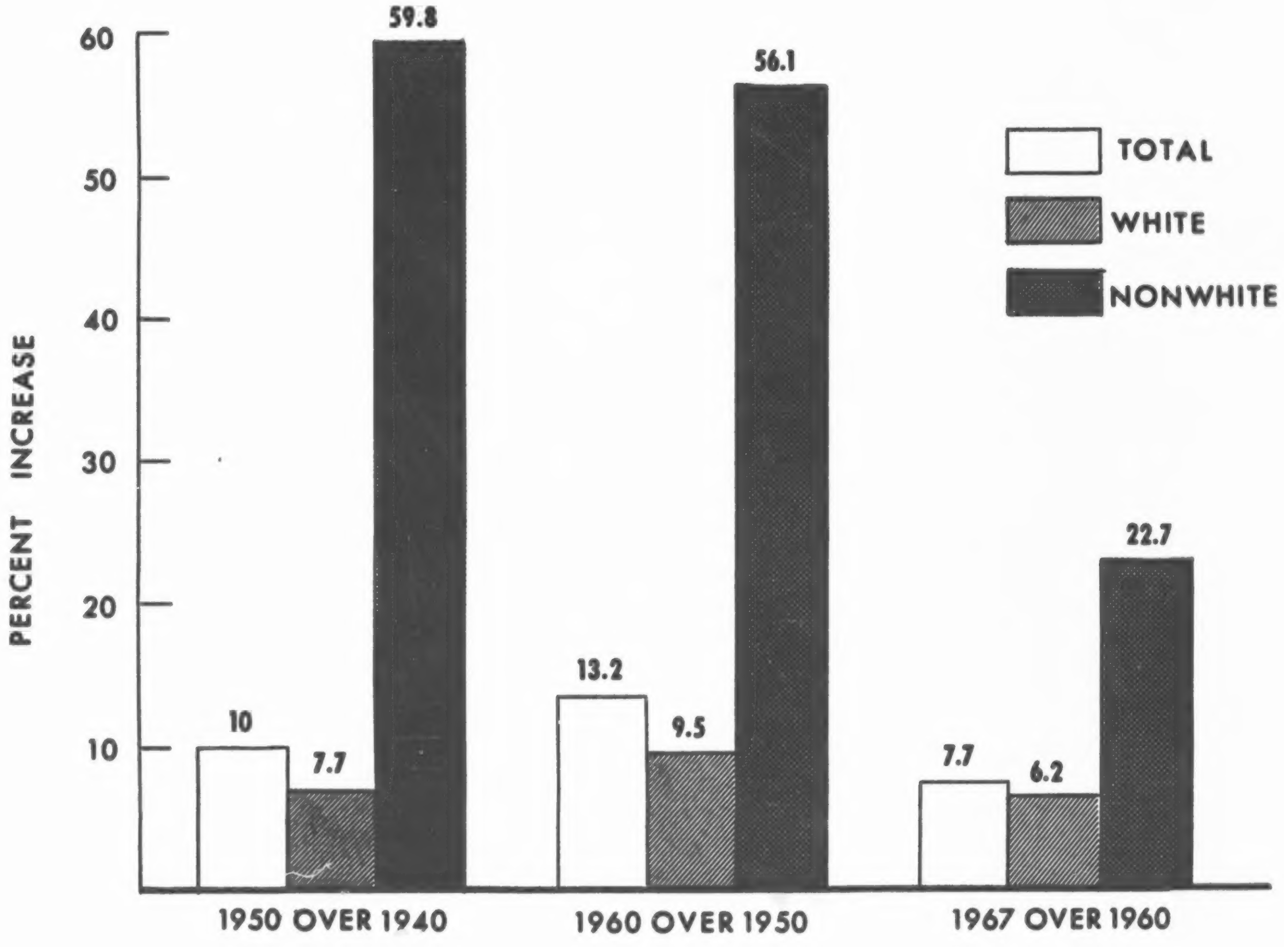
[2] Based on data from the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967).

FIGURE 3

INCREASES IN TOTAL,WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS IN NEW YORK STATE 1940-1967 [3]



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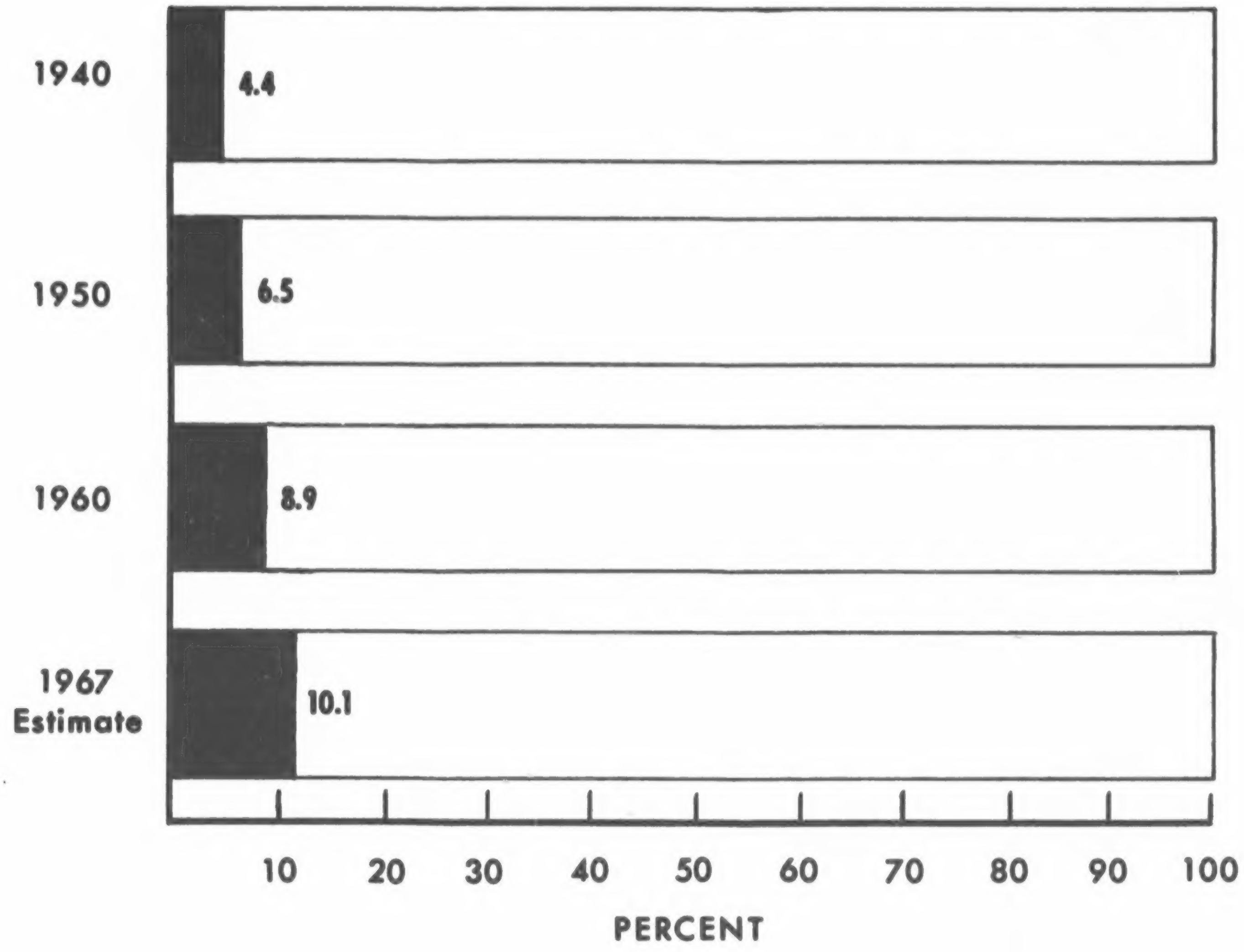
[3] Based on data from the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967).

FIGURE 4
NONWHITE POPULATION AS PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION IN NEW YORK STATE
1940 -1967 [4]



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[4] Based on data from the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967).

In the 1940's when nonwhites increased by nearly 60 percent, whites increased 7.7 percent. In the 1950's when nonwhites increased by 56 percent, the number of whites rose 9.5 percent. In the first seven years of this decade, nonwhites have increased by 23 percent, whites by only 6 percent. As a result of the greater rate of increase of nonwhites, the proportion on nonwhites in the total population has more than doubled. As shown in Figure 4, it has gone up from 4.4 percent in 1940 to over 10 percent in 1967. Given the difference in white and nonwhite birth rates, it can be expected that the proportion of nonwhites in the State will be even greater in the years ahead (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

Concentration of Nonwhites in Metropolitan Areas

The concentration of Negroes in metropolitan areas and in major cities in the United States is well demonstrated in New York State.

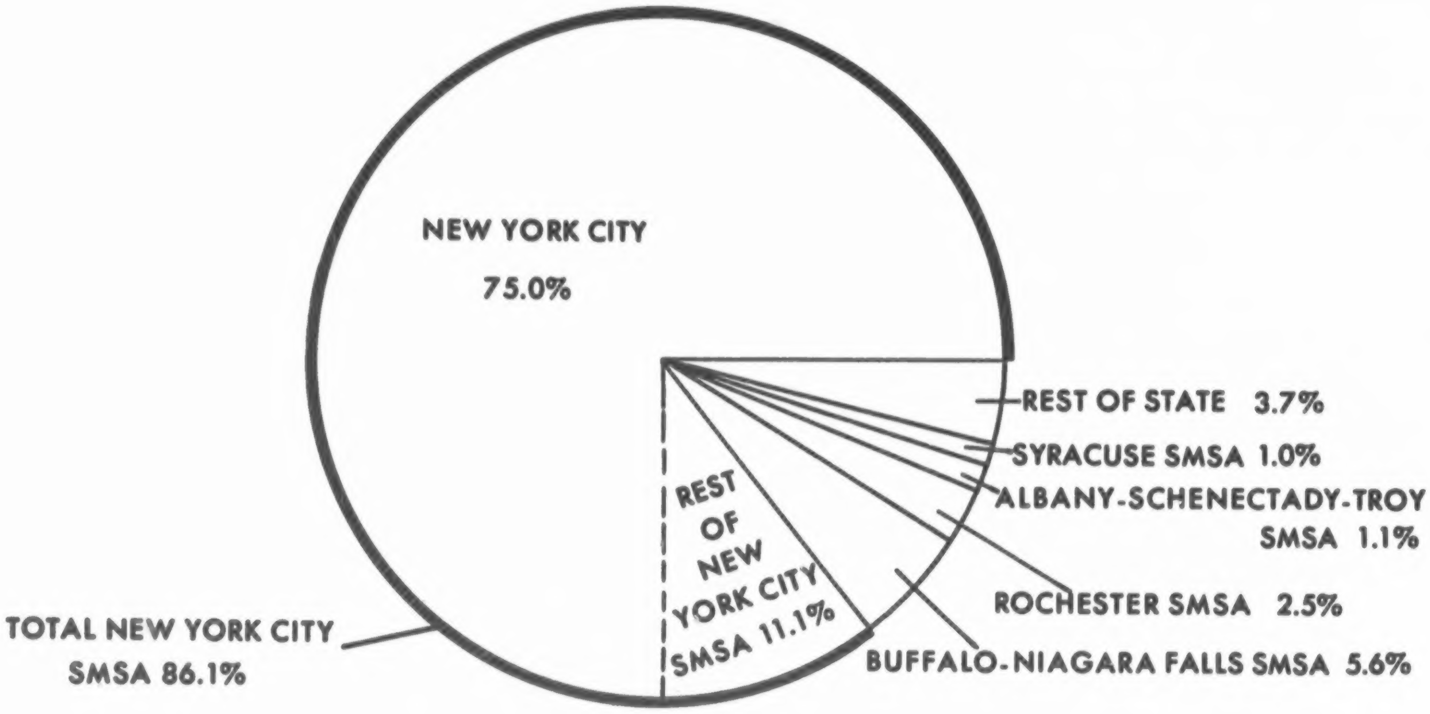
Nearly one and a half million nonwhites, 75 percent of the State's total nonwhite population, live in New York City alone. Although nonwhites make up a smaller proportion of the total population in New York City than do Negroes in other major cities in the United States--17 percent as compared to 28 percent in Chicago, 34 percent in Detroit, 38 percent in Baltimore, and 66 percent in Washington (NACCD, 1968)--the Negroes in the City constitute about 6 percent of the 21.5 million Negroes in the entire country.

An additional 200,000 nonwhites live in the four counties adjoining New York City--Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland. This puts more than 86 percent of the State's nonwhite population in the New York City Metropolitan area. Another 11 percent are found in the six upstate metropolitan areas. The next greatest concentrations are in the Buffalo area, which has 5.6 percent, and the Rochester area, which has 2.5 percent of the total. Figure 5 shows the distribution of nonwhites by Standard Metropoli-

FIGURE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITE POPULATION IN NEW YORK STATE BY STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS

1967[5]



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[5] Based on data from the New York State Division of the Budget (1969).

tan Statistical Areas (SMSA's).

The nonwhite population in New York City is so large that it overshadows nonwhite populations in other areas. To provide another perspective on the State, the distribution of nonwhites in the counties outside of New York City is shown in Figure 6. Erie County now dominates with 20.0 percent of the total outside New York City. Westchester, Nassau and Suffolk Counties follow with 17.4, 13.3 and 11.3 percent respectively. These three counties combined account for 42 percent of the nonwhites outside of New York City. Monroe, the fifth county in nonwhite population (8.7 percent), has more than twice as many nonwhites as any of the remaining counties in the State.

The total and nonwhite populations of each of the SMSA's and their component counties, as reported in the 1960 census and as estimated in 1967, are given in Table 1 along with the proportion of nonwhites in both years and the extent of nonwhite increases between the two years. All seven metropolitan areas show increases in total population, in nonwhite population and in the proportion of nonwhites in the total population. Similarly, there is an increase in the nonwhite population in each county and, with three minor exceptions, there is an increase in the proportion of nonwhite residents. The increases in the nonwhite SMSA populations range from 15 percent in the Buffalo area to 58 percent in the Rochester area (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

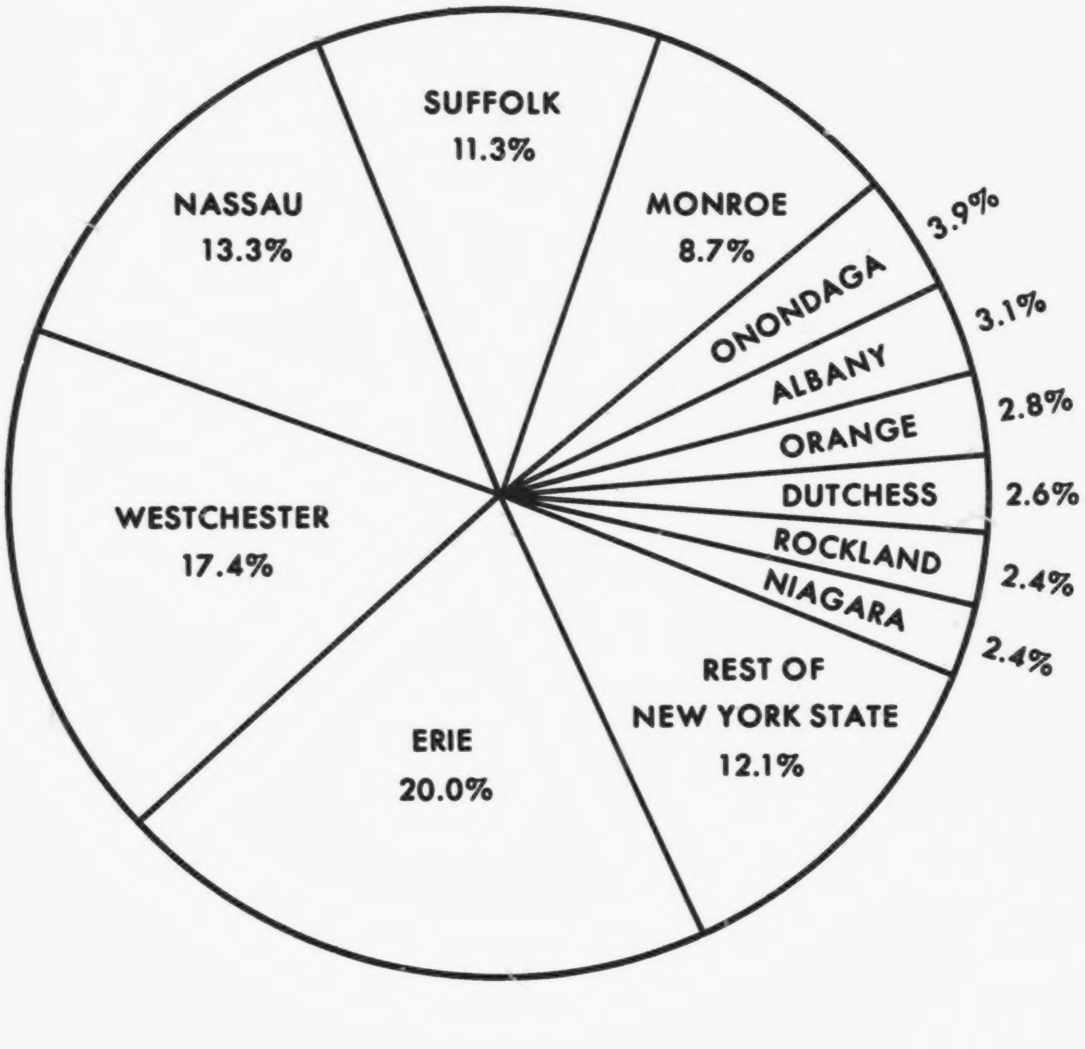
The county nonwhite increases shown in Table 1 range even more widely than the SMSA increases, from 3 to 65 percent with 12 out of 22 exceeding the 23 percent increase in nonwhite population for the State. The most striking changes in terms of both absolute numbers and percentage increases are those for Nassau, Suffolk and Monroe Counties. In Nassau County, an additional 18,000 nonwhites raised the nonwhite population by 44

3

FIGURE 6

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITE POPULATION IN NEW YORK STATE COUNTIES EXCLUDING NEW YORK CITY

1967 [6]



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[6] Based on population estimates published by the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967).

Table 1

Total and Nonwhite Residents in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Component Counties in New York State: 1960 and 1967[1]

Area	1960 Census Data			1967 Estimates			
	Total Population	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite	Total Population	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite	Percent Increase Nonwhite
Entire State	16,782,304	1,495,233	8.9	18,072,089	1,834,026	10.1	22.7
New York SMSA	10,694,633	1,287,878	12.0	11,591,723	1,578,367	13.6	22.6
New York City	7,781,984	1,141,322	14.7	8,096,000	1,374,903	17.0	20.5
Westchester	808,891	62,485	7.7	870,649	79,546	9.1	27.3
Rockland	136,803	7,152	5.2	202,044	10,933	5.4	52.9
Nassau	1,300,171	42,132	3.2	1,428,391	60,693	4.2	44.1
Suffolk	666,784	34,787	5.2	994,639	52,292	5.3	50.3
Long Island	1,966,955	76,919	3.9	2,423,030	112,985	4.7	46.9
Buffalo SMSA	1,306,957	89,237	6.8	1,324,432	102,712	7.8	15.1
Erie	1,064,688	79,245	7.4	1,089,955	92,195	8.5	16.3
Niagara	242,269	9,992	4.1	234,477	10,517	4.5	5.3
Rochester SMSA	732,588	29,025	4.0	829,187	45,973	5.5	58.4
Monroe	586,387	25,067	4.3	668,131	40,451	6.1	61.4
Orleans	34,159	1,491	4.4	37,728	1,975	5.2	32.5
Livingston	44,053	918	2.1	48,516	986	2.0	7.4
Wayne	67,989	1,549	2.3	74,812	2,561	3.4	65.3
Syracuse SMSA	563,781	14,732	2.6	620,989	18,564	3.0	26.0
Onondaga	423,028	14,094	3.3	468,879	17,815	3.8	26.4
Madison	54,635	389	0.7	59,353	460	0.8	18.3
Oswego	86,118	249	0.3	92,757	289	0.3	16.1

Table 1 (Continued)

Albany-Schenectady-Troy SMSA	657,503	17,379	2.6	686,177	20,689	3.0	19.0
Albany	272,926	11,512	4.2	286,174	13,891	4.9	20.7
Schenectady	152,896	2,358	1.5	148,505	2,719	1.8	15.3
Rensselaer	142,585	2,623	1.8	148,111	3,167	2.1	20.7
Saratoga	89,096	886	1.0	103,387	912	0.9	2.9
Utica-Rome SMSA	330,771	5,232	1.6	348,679	6,637	1.9	26.9
Oneida	264,401	5,084	1.9	279,073	6,438	2.3	26.6
Herkimer	66,370	148	0.2	69,606	199	0.3	34.5
Binghamton SMSA	250,463	1,701	0.7	268,262	2,268	0.8	33.3
Broome	212,661	1,487	0.7	223,699	1,955	0.9	31.5
Tioga	37,802	214	0.6	44,563	313	0.7	46.3
Outside SMSA's	2,245,608	50,049	2.2	2,402,640	58,816	2.4	18.0

[1] Based on data from the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967).

percent; in Suffolk, 17,000 increased it by 50 percent; and in Monroe, 15,000 increased the nonwhite population a sizeable 61 percent. Increases of 17,000 and 13,000 in Westchester and Erie Counties were nearly as large in number, though smaller in proportion, being respectively, 27 and 16 percent. The New York City numerical increase exceeds all others with an estimated 230,000. However, the percentage increase for New York, 20.5, is below the Statewide increase of 23 percent between 1960 and 1967 (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

Nonwhite Populations in Urban Centers

The magnitude of the nonwhite population in New York City has already been noted. Numerically, the New York City situation is unique in all of the United States, let alone New York State. The majority of nonwhites outside of New York City are also concentrated in urban centers. The notable exceptions are the 113,000 nonwhites on Long Island, where there are no big cities, and the growing number of nonwhites in Rockland County, until recently a relatively rural area. Reference to Long Island and Rockland County will be made in the following section on "Nonwhites in Suburbia."

Recent population estimates are not as available for urban centers as they are for counties. However, special city surveys made since 1960 reveal a continuation of the increases in the number of nonwhites in the cities shown by the 1950 and 1960 Federal censuses. These surveys also confirm and extend a trend away from the cities--an actual decline in urban populations. That trend was well established by the 1960 census: in 1960, nine of the State's 15 largest cities showed population losses. Since then, population losses have been reported for four others (New York State Division of the Budget, 1969; New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

The combination of population losses--which are white losses--and the growth in the Negro segments of urban communities has resulted in marked changes in the proportions of nonwhites in the cities. Table 2 shows the changes that have occurred in New York State urban centers (cities of over 50,000) and in four smaller cities outside of metropolitan areas, where nonwhite concentrations also exist. In seven of the 10 cities surveyed since 1960, the proportion of nonwhites exceeded the 10.1 percentage for the State as a whole. The highest proportions were in Mount Vernon with 27 percent and Newburgh with 26 percent nonwhite. In Mount Vernon, a 32 percent increase in the nonwhite population in five years, from 15,000 to nearly 20,000, was accompanied by a white loss of 13 percent and an overall population loss of 3,000 or 4 percent. In Newburgh, a city half the size of Mount Vernon, the nonwhite population increased by over 36 percent, from 5,000 to 7,000, in seven years; the white population dropped by 22 percent; and the total population declined 12 percent, from 31,000 to 27,000. Yonkers, the big city with the smallest proportion of nonwhites (5.5 percent), is the only one to have increased in total population since 1960. Data reported here, plus that derived from school census counts, indicate that the 1970 Federal census will show the same condition--declining total populations and increasing nonwhite populations in most large cities (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

Precise comparisons between city and county data are not possible because of differences in years reported. However, the information in Tables 1 and 2 does suggest the disparity between nonwhite populations in urban centers and in surrounding communities. For example, in 1967 the estimated proportion of nonwhites in Erie County, including Buffalo, was 8.5. In 1966 the proportion in Buffalo itself was 17.4. In Monroe County,

Table 2

Population Trends in New York State Cities over 50,000 (1960) and Selected Smaller Cities[1]

	1950 Census		1960 Census				Special Census since 1960				
					Dir. of Change					Dir. of Change	
City	Total Pop.	Percent Nonwhite	Total Pop.	Percent Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Year	Total Pop.	Percent Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite
New York City	7,891,957	9.8	7,781,984	14.7	-	+					
Buffalo	580,132	6.5	532,759	13.8	-	+	1966	481,453	17.4	-	+
Rochester	332,488	2.4	318,611	7.6	-	+	1964	305,849	10.6	-	+
Syracuse	220,583	2.3	216,038	5.7	-	+					
Yonkers	152,798	3.3	190,634	4.2	+	+	1965	201,573	5.5	+	+
Albany	134,995	4.4	129,726	8.5	-	+					
Utica	101,531	1.6	100,410	3.2	-	+					
Schenectady	91,785	1.6	81,682	2.7	-	+					
Niagara Falls	90,872	4.1	102,394	7.5	+	+	1967	88,286	8.9	-	+
Binghamton	80,674	1.0	75,941	1.7	-	+	1966	69,435	2.0	-	+
Troy	72,311	1.4	67,492	3.1	-	+					
Mount Vernon	71,899	11.0	76,010	19.9	+	+	1965	72,918	27.4	-	+
New Rochelle	59,725	12.6	76,812	13.6	+	+	1965	75,206	13.5	-	-

Table 2 (Continued)

White Plains	43,466	10.0	50,485	11.9	+	+	1965	50,040	13.6	-	+
Rome	41,682	1.4	51,646	2.8	+	+					
Poughkeepsie	41,023	4.5	38,330	9.6	-	+					
Newburgh	31,956	6.4	30,979	16.6	-	+	1967	27,171	25.9	-	+
Peekskill	17,731	5.7	18,737	11.5	+	+	1965	18,504	15.2	-	+
Beacon	14,012	8.5	13,922	13.0	-	+					

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[1] Based on data from the New York State Division of the Budget (1969) and the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967).

including the city of Rochester, the estimated proportion was 6.1 in 1967; in Rochester itself, the proportion was 10.6 as early as 1964.

The above figures illustrate the isolation of the nonwhite in New York State. This isolation could be made even more evident with examination of the distribution of nonwhites by neighborhoods within cities.

The phenomenon of large and increasing numbers of nonwhites isolated in a small portion of a total community is demonstrated in Westchester County. With the exception of New York City, Westchester County has the highest proportion of nonwhites of any location in the State, 9.1 percent in 1967. But, in 1965, 89 percent of all nonwhites in Westchester County lived in 11 of its 44 communities. Moreover, 55 percent of the nonwhites were found in the county's three largest cities--Yonkers, Mount Vernon and New Rochelle. Mount Vernon alone had 27 percent of the nonwhites, but only 8.5 percent of the total county population.

Within Mount Vernon in 1965, the nonwhite population, which is 99 percent Negro, was further concentrated with 89 percent living in eight of the city's 21 census tracts. The proportions of nonwhites in these tracts ranged from 35.6 percent to 84.4 percent. The nonwhite population in Mount Vernon has increased by nearly 5,000 since 1960. More than half the increase occurred in three of the eight census tracts and, in each of these, the increase was nearly equalled or exceeded by white losses. In one tract alone, the nonwhite population went from 607 to 1,652--an increase of 1,045--while the white population dropped from 4,070 to 2,982--a loss of 1,088 (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1965).

Nonwhites in Suburbia: Nassau, Suffolk and Rockland Counties

Nassau, Suffolk and Rockland Counties along with Westchester form the suburbia of New York City. Westchester County itself contains four urban centers (cities of over 50,000 population). The three other counties are made up of small cities, towns, villages and unincorporated communities ranging in size from a few hundred to several thousand. The characteristics of these counties and the ways in which their nonwhite populations are increasing make them of special interest.

Nassau County--The suburban boom which began at the end of World War II produced great changes in Nassau County. The population grew from just over 400,000 in 1940 to nearly 1,400,000 in 1965 when a special census was made. During this period the nonwhite population, which is 94 percent Negro, increased from 13,500 to more than 55,000. The greatest growth was in the 1950's when the total population nearly doubled and the nonwhite population went up by 137 percent (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1965a).

With the filling up of available land, the rate of growth in Nassau County has slackened for both white and nonwhites. Estimates for 1967 indicated that nonwhites had increased by 44 percent after 1960 while whites increased by only 9 percent. In 1967, nonwhites made up an estimated 4.2 percent of the total population as opposed to 3.2 percent in 1960 and 2.6 percent in 1950 (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1967).

Nonwhites are not spread throughout Nassau County, but are concentrated in a few of its 93 local communities. Most of the communities with substantial numbers of nonwhites are located in the western, more urban section of the county. Table 3 lists 12 communities, each of which had more 1,000 nonwhite residents in 1965. These 12 communities together accounted for 75 percent of all nonwhites in the county although they contained only 20 percent of the total population. Five had nearly 55 percent of the nonwhites. The proportion of nonwhites in the 12 communities ranged from 3.3

Table 3

Concentration of Nonwhites in Nassau County Communities in 1965[1]

Community	Total Population	Nonwhite Population Number	Percent of Total	Percent of Co. Nonwhites
Hempstead	37,192	11,904	32.0	21.5
New Cassel	9,277	4,924	53.1	8.9
Roosevelt	13,715	4,642	33.8	8.4
Freeport	38,429	4,423	11.5	8.0
West Hemstead-Lakeview	25,837	4,196	16.2	7.6
Inwood	8,833	2,221	25.1	4.0
Glen Cove	25,048	2,090	8.3	3.8
Uniondale-Garden City East	22,396	2,052	9.2	3.7
Long Beach	28,994	1,697	5.9	3.1
Manhasset	8,942	1,454	16.3	2.6
Elmont-South Floral Park	31,525	1,037	3.3	1.9
Rockville Centre	26,413	1,018	3.9	1.8
Subtotal, 12 Communities	276,601	41,658	15.1	75.2
91 Other Communities	1,121,120	13,732	1.2	24.8
County Total	1,397,721	55,390	4.0	100

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[1] From the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1965a).

percent in Elmont-South Floral Park to 53.1 percent in New Cassel. In seven communities it exceeded 10.1 percent, the proportion of nonwhites in the State as a whole in 1967. Four of the communities were over 25 percent nonwhite in 1965: Hempstead, a village of over 37,000; Roosevelt and Inwood, unincorporated communities of 14,000 and 9,000; and New Cassel, a section of Westbury. Within these communities, there was further concentration of the nonwhites with marked contrasts between adjoining neighborhoods. In Hempstead, for example, one census tract was 88 percent nonwhite, another only 2 percent. Of a total of 220 census tracts in all of Nassau County, 20 had over 10 percent nonwhites in 1965; 142 had less than 1 percent.

Hempstead, New Cassel, Roosevelt, Freeport and West Hempstead-Lakeview (the five communities with the largest numbers of nonwhites) accounted for almost all of the nonwhite increase in Nassau County between 1960 and 1965--12,158 out of 13,258. In four of these the white population dropped as the nonwhite increased. Nonwhites increased in 45 other Nassau County communities but in 41 they declined. In each of three communities--East Meadow, Inwood and Rockville Centre--the loss of nonwhite residents exceeded 300 between 1960 and 1965.

The figures for Nassau County show that while more nonwhites are living in this portion of suburbia than previously, they are more and more concentrated in individual communities. In these communities, their proportions may be even higher than in urban centers. While community boundaries are not coterminous with school district boundaries, these community population figures are good indicators of the ethnic composition of some Nassau school districts (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1965a).

Suffolk County--Further distant from New York City than Nassau County and with land still undeveloped, Suffolk County is currently an area of rapid population growth. The total population has nearly quadrupled in less than 20 years, increasing from 276,000 in 1950 to over a million as estimated in 1968. During this period, the Negro population has expanded at a similar rate, from 13,000 to an estimated 52,000. Negroes make up about 95 percent of the total nonwhite population of 55,000 and comprised, in 1968, an estimated 5 percent of the total population.

Negro and white increases for Suffolk County have been about the same since 1960: 57.3 percent for whites and 58.7 percent for Negroes. However, when the county's high institutional population is excluded, the rate of Negro increase exceeds that of whites: 72 percent compared to 60 percent.

Most of the Negro population growth has occurred in four of Suffolk's 10 townships: Babylon, Islip, Huntington and Brookhaven. In Babylon between 1960 and 1968, the Negro population increased by nearly 9,500, 151 percent. In Islip and Huntington, the Negro population (outside of institutions) increased by almost 4,000 and 2,000 respectively. In Brookhaven, the increase was nearly 3,000.

The Town of Babylon, immediately adjacent to Nassau County, had the largest number of Negroes in 1968, nearly 21,000 or 10.6 percent of its total population. Riverhead and Southampton, farther out on Long Island, had higher proportions, 16.0 and 11.2 percent, but lower numbers, 2,800 and 3,900. With Babylon, Negroes were most numerous in two communities, Wyandanch and North Amityville. One census tract in Wyandanch was 92 percent Negro. The Negro population in this section has increased by more than 4,000 between 1960 and 1968. Here, and in some other census tracts, white losses accompanied large Negro increases.

Table 4 shows the distribution of the Negro population of Suffolk

Table 4

Distribution of Negroes in Townships of Suffolk County in 1968[1]

Town	Total Population	Negro	% Negro	% of County Negro Pop., Excluding Institutions
Babylon	196,975	20,838	10.6	44.7
North Amityville	11,351	8,400	74.0	18.0
Wyandanch: Census Tract BA-24	11,748	2,756	23.5	5.9
Census Tract BA-25	6,781	6,205	91.5	13.3
Huntington	183,406	4,183	2.3	9.0
Major Census Tracts in Huntington Station	18,834	2,547	13.5	5.5
Islip	248,118	6,343	2.6	13.6
One Census Tract of Brentwood	3,929	1,344	34.2	2.9
One Tract of Central Islip	9,807	1,476	15.1	3.2
Smithtown	95,752	233	0.2	0.5
Brookhaven	207,613	6,530	3.1	14.0
One Census Tract of Coram-Yaphank	2,217	1,668	75.2	3.6
One Tract North of Bellport	5,237	1,711	32.7	3.7
Riverhead	17,742	2,841	16.0	6.1
Riverhead (Village)	6,414	1,211	18.9	2.6
Southampton	35,096	3,932	11.2	8.4
One Census Tract South of Riverhead	7,269	1,237	17.0	2.7
Southampton (Village)	4,924	960	19.5	2.1
East Hampton	12,112	527	4.4	1.1
Southold	16,412	1,180	7.2	2.5
Shelter Island	1,620	16	1.0	--[a]
County Total (Excluding Institutions)	1,014,846	46,623	4.6	100
Institutions	34,129	5,795	17.0	
Total	1,048,975	52,418	5.0	

[1] Based on data from the New York Division of Human Rights (1968).

[a] Less than .1 percent.

County by town and by areas within towns, as estimated in 1968. While some of the subdivisions, such as North Amityville, are intact communities, others are single census tracts. These figures indicate that in less populated Suffolk County, there is the same pattern of racial pocketing that is found in Nassau County and in the cities (New York State Division of Human Rights, 1968).

Rockland County--Rockland County, with a population in 1966 of 193,000, is another relatively rural area which has recently felt the impact of suburban development. The population rose by more than 47,000 between 1950 and 1960 and went up another 56,000 in the six years between 1960 and 1966. During these 16 years, the nonwhite population increased from 4,600 to 10,400, and in 1966 made up 5.4 percent of the total population.

Nonwhites, of whom 96 percent are Negro, are unevenly distributed in Rockland County, and the nonwhite growth, as shown in Table 5, has also been uneven. Rockland, like Suffolk, has a substantial institutional population. In 1966, about 23 percent of all nonwhites in the county were inmates or staff members at State facilities. Nearly half of the nonwhites outside of the institutions, 37.5 percent of the total, were found in two communities--Spring Valley and Nyack. In Spring Valley, a fast-growing residential area, the nonwhite population increased from 675 to over 2,500 between 1960 and 1966. In the same period the white population grew by 4,500. In Nyack, on the other hand, both the white and the nonwhite populations declined by about 300 persons. As a result of these changes and other shifts within the county, the proportion of nonwhites living in Spring Valley rose from less than 10 percent in 1960 to nearly 25 percent of the county total in 1966. Thus, in a six-year period, there was an increase in

Table 5

Distribution of Nonwhites in Selected Communities of Rockland County: 1960-1966[1]

Community	1960 Total	1960 Non-White	1960 % N.W.	1960 % Total N.W.	1966 Total	1966 Non-White	1966 % N.W.	1966 % Total N.W.	% Inc. N.W.
Spring Valley	6,538	675	10.3	9.4	12,892	2,510	19.5	24.2	271.8
Nyack	6,062	1,682	27.7	23.5	5,400	1,318	25.6	12.7	-23.8
Hillburn	1,114	552	49.6	7.7	1,011	508	50.2	4.9	- 8.0
Haverstraw	5,771	356	6.2	5.0	7,293	449	6.2	4.3	20.7
South Nyack	3,113	349	11.2	4.9	3,377	428	12.7	4.1	18.5
State Institutions	12,438	1,501	12.1	21.0	11,866	2,397	20.2	23.1	59.7
Rest of County (23 Other Census Tracts)	101,767	2,037	2.0	28.5	150,885	2,783	1.8	26.8	36.6
Total County	136,803	7,152	5.2	100.0	192,724	10,393	5.4	100.0	45.3

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[1] Based on data from New York State Commission for Human Rights (1966).

the concentration of nonwhites in Rockland County (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1966).

Summary--The growth of nonwhite populations in Nassau, Suffolk and Rockland Counties represents a departure from the usual pattern of Negro concentration in urban centers. However, even in this movement into suburbia, the nonwhites are an isolated group. Nonwhite numbers advance in only a few communities and there the proportions are markedly greater than in neighboring locations.

In all three suburban counties, further increases in the numbers and proportions of nonwhites are predicted. The percentage of nonwhites is expected to rise to 5 percent in Nassau and 6 percent in Rockland County by 1970 (New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1965, 1966). Suffolk will be 5.5 percent Negro by 1975 (New York State Division of Human Rights, 1968). However, if the existing population patterns persist, there will be even greater concentrations of nonwhites in given suburban communities as the overall increases occur.

Puerto Ricans in New York State

Puerto Ricans, estimated at over a million in 1969, constitute 5.8 percent of the total population in New York State and are the State's second minority group. Their high numbers are due to both heavy immigration, which was at its peak in the 1950's, and a relatively high birth rate.

Most of the State's Puerto Ricans have settled in New York City, their port of entry. A full 95 percent, over 960,000, reside in the City. Another 1.8 percent live on Long Island; 0.9 percent live in Westchester and Rockland Counties. The remaining 2.3 percent are distributed throughout the State with concentrations of more than 1,000 each in seven counties: Orange, Dutchess, Ulster, Sullivan, Erie, Chautauqua and Monroe (New York

State Division of Human Rights, 1969).

Because of their high birth rate and the continuing inimigration, the proportion of Puerto Ricans in the State can be expected to increase.

Ethnic Isolation in New York State:
Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the Schools

The collection of ethnic and racial data on the school population of New York State is a recent innovation. The first effort of this kind was the State Education Department's 1961 Racial Census of elementary school buildings. Since the 1966-67 school year, the collection of racial and ethnic data for both elementary and secondary schools has been a part of the Education Department's annual Basic Educational Data System Programs (BEDS). Schools are currently asked to report enrollments by five ethnic groups: American Indian, Negro, Oriental, Spanish-Surnamed-American and other. Spanish-Surnamed-Americans are predominantly Puerto Rican in New York State, and the latter designation will be used in this report. The category "Other" is comparable to the white category of the general census except that it does not include Spanish-Surnamed-Americans.

The BEDS data, covering only three years, reveal the same upward trends in the number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans and in the total school population that are shown by the long-range general census data. They show, as would be expected with the higher birth rate of the minority groups and the fact that more whites attend private schools, higher proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the public schools than in the total population.

Statewide Increases in Minority Groups

Public elementary and secondary school enrollments in New York State rose from 3.25 million in 1966 to 3.41 million in 1968. Negro and

Puerto Rican students combined accounted for nearly two-thirds (63.7 percent) of the increase. The number of Negro students rose from 439,000 to 495,000, and the number of Puerto Ricans rose from 238,000 to 280,000 in two years from 1966 to 1968. The total school enrollment increased by 5 percent, but Negro enrollment went up 13 percent and Puerto Rican enrollment gained 18 percent. Accordingly, while Negroes made up 13.5 percent of the public school population in 1966, they accounted for 14.5 percent in 1968. Similarly, while Puerto Ricans represented 7.3 percent of the total in 1966, they accounted for 8.2 percent in 1968. Table 6 shows the progression of the increases in the two-year period.

The percentage of Negroes in the public school population, 14.5 in 1968, is 4.4 percentage points higher than the percentage of all nonwhites including Indians and Orientals in the total population, which was estimated at 10.1 in 1967. The percentage of Puerto Ricans in the schools, 8.2 in 1968, is 2.4 percentage points higher than the percentage of Puerto Ricans in the total population, estimated at 5.8 for 1969.

Minority Concentrations

The effects of the increase in minority enrollments can best be understood by examining school districts where there are minority concentrations. For this purpose, three-year data were assembled on 42 districts.

These districts include:

1. All districts in the State with more than 20 percent Negro enrollments in 1968, except special districts with institutional schools (24 districts).[7]
2. All districts in the State with one or more schools with more than 31 percent Negro enrollment in 1966

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[7] Special districts receive pupils from all over the State for rehabilitation training. One special district, Echo Hills in Westchester County, was identified as imbalanced in the 1961 Racial Census; in 1968, 45.7 percent of its pupils were Negro and 11.9 percent were Puerto Rican.

Table 6

Trends in New York State School Population: 1966 - 1968[1]

	1966 - 67		1967 - 68			1968 - 69			
	Number	%	Number	%	% Increase	Number	%	% Increase	% Increase 1966-1968
Total	3,251,654	100	3,336,678	100	2.61	3,406,658	100	2.10	4.77
Negro	438,585	13.5	462,992	13.9	5.56	494,919	14.5	6.90	12.84
Puerto Rican	237,916	7.3	256,094	7.7	7.64	280,275	8.2	9.44	17.80
Other[a]	2,575,153	79.2	2,617,592	78.4	1.65	2,631,464	77.3	.53	2.19

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] The term "Other" is used in the BEDS data to designate pupils who are neither Negro, Spanish-Surnamed-American (Puerto Rican), American Indian or Oriental. In this case only, Indians and Orientals, about .7 percent of the total, are included in "Other."

or 1968 (40 districts).

3. All districts that received State Aid to correct existing or previous racial imbalance in 1966, 1967, or 1968 (27 districts).[8]

The criteria for the identification of districts refer only to Negroes in the schools. However, together the 42 districts include 93 percent of all Negro and 96 percent of all Puerto Rican pupils in the public schools of New York State in 1968.

There are three ways of looking at concentrations of minority groups: (1) by numbers, (2) by proportions within districts and (3) by proportions within districts as compared to surrounding districts.

Concentration by Numbers--In looking at concentration by numbers, attention will be given to Negroes and Puerto Ricans as separate groups.

Eighty-five percent of the 495,000 Negro school children in New York State are enrolled in eight school districts. New York City alone had 356,000 Negro pupils, or 72 percent of the total in 1968. Buffalo, the second largest school system, had over 26,000, or more than 5 percent. Rochester, the third largest district, had more than 13,600, or nearly 3 percent. The three largest districts together took in 80 percent of the State's Negro students. The districts with the next largest numbers were Syracuse and Mount Vernon, with over 6,000, or nearly 1.3 percent, in each. Hempstead, a Long Island district, had over 4,000, nearly 1 percent; and Yonkers and Albany both had nearly 3,700, or .75 percent each. Table 7 shows the number of Negro pupils in the eight districts cited and in the 34 other districts

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[8] Six additional districts have received State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance: one for a preventative program (Roslyn), one because of religious isolation (West Hempstead), one for inservice training of teachers (Scotia-Glenville) and three for urban-suburban action exchange programs (Penfield, Pittsford and West Irondequoit).

Table 7

Negro Pupils in 42 Selected New York State School Districts, 1968[1]

District	Number	% of Enrollment	% of State Total
New York City	356,392	31.9	72.01
Buffalo	26,356	36.8	5.33
Rochester	13,679	28.9	2.76
Syracuse	6,365	20.9	1.29
Mount Vernon	6,336	51.4	1.28
Hempstead	4,159	71.4	.84
Yonkers	3,698	12.0	.75
Albany	3,685	30.7	.74
Niagara Falls	2,986	16.2	a
Newburgh	2,925	23.0	a
Roosevelt	2,751	70.4	a
New Rochelle	2,569	20.8	a
Freeport	2,117	28.5	a
Wyandanch	2,110	91.6	a
Westbury	2,008	39.8	a
Poughkeepsie	1,940	32.7	a
Amityville	1,855	40.9	a
Utica	1,715	11.8	a
White Plains	1,637	18.3	a
Malverne	1,378	47.4	a
Greenburgh	1,359	32.6	a
Spring Valley	1,264	8.3	a
Riverhead	1,260	29.7	a
Peekskill	967	29.0	a
Lackawanna	951	16.2	a
Schenectady	950	7.3	a
Elmira	902	6.4	a
Troy	899	12.3	a
Nyack	846	23.2	a
Ossining	845	15.4	a
Bellport	796	18.2	a
Middle Island	693	23.7	a
Long Beach	617	9.8	a
Glen Cove	600	11.2	a
Beacon	598	17.6	a
Kingston	583	5.3	a
Southampton	442	23.8	a
Geneva	319	9.4	a
Rockville Centre	250	5.7	a
Bridgehampton	210	55.6	a
Suffern	73	1.4	a
Peconic	6	22.2	a
Total 42 Districts	462,091	29.8	93.37
All Other Districts	32,828	1.8	6.63
State Total	494,919	14.5	100.00

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] Less than .7 percent.

under study. Fifteen of the other districts had more than 1,000 Negro pupils; seven had between 2,000 and 3,000.

The concentration of Puerto Ricans is more intense than that of Negroes. New York City alone had nearly 261,000, 93 percent of the 280,000 Puerto Rican pupils in the State in 1968. Among the 42 districts under study are three other large city systems that had over 1,000 Puerto Rican pupils: Rochester with 1,553, Yonkers with 1,323 and Buffalo with 1,276. The district with the next highest number was Newburgh with 374, followed by Glen Cove with 295 and White Plains with 224. Ten of the districts had between 100 and 200 Puerto Ricans, 22 had less than 100 and 3 had none. Table 8 lists all 42 districts and shows the number of Puerto Ricans in each. In most of the districts, Puerto Ricans constituted a negligible proportion of the total pupil population.[9]

Concentration by Proportions within Districts--Perhaps more important than numbers is the proportion of minority pupils in a school population. Table 9 lists the 42 districts according to the proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans combined. The two groups are taken together because they share a common problem of estrangement from the main stream of society.[10]

As Table 9 shows, there were six districts in the State where minority pupils were the majority; that is, they exceeded 50 percent of the total public school population. Three other districts had between 40 and 50

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[9] It should be noted that no systematic review was made to determine districts with high Puerto Rican populations or with Puerto Rican isolation in individual schools. Although 96 percent of the Puerto Rican pupils in the State are included in this sample, there may be districts with more pronounced concentrations than those on the list.

[10] On proportion of Negroes alone, New York City would rank 12th in the State instead of 5th. Similarly, Peekskill would rank 15th instead of 11th, Beacon 27th instead of 22nd, Troy 31st instead of 35th and Glen Cove 34th instead of 30th. No other significant changes in rank order occur as a result of the combination of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Table 8

Puerto Rican Pupils in 42 Selected New York State School Districts, 1968[1]

Districts	Number	% of Enrollment	% of State Total	District	Number	% of Enrollment	% of State Total
New York City	260,963	23.3	93.11	Wyandanch	46	2.0	a
Rochester	1,553	3.3	.55	Geneva	45	1.3	a
Yonkers	1,323	4.3	.47	Schenectady	44	.3	a
Buffalo	1,276	1.8	.46	Roosevelt	43	1.1	a
Newburgh	374	2.9	.13	Riverhead	37	.9	a
Glen Cove	295	5.5	.11	Albany	30	.2	a
White Plains	224	2.5	a	Middle Island	25	.9	a
Mount Vernon	173	1.4	a	Niagara Falls	24	.1	a
Long Beach	171	2.7	a	Amityville	22	.5	a
Freeport	163	2.2	a	Greenburgh	21	.5	a
Beacon	162	4.8	a	Suffern	21	.4	a
Lackawanna	155	2.6	a	Nyack	12	.3	a
Utica	155	1.1	a	Poughkeepsie	11	.2	a
Peekskill	153	4.6	a	Troy	9	.1	a
Hempstead	102	1.8	a	Malverne	6	.2	a
Bellport	101	2.3	a	Elmira	5	a	a
Spring Valley	101	.7	a	Bridgehampton	0	0	0
New Rochelle	85	.7	a	Southampton	0	0	0
Ossining	85	1.6	a	Peconic	0	0	0
Westbury	73	1.4	a	Total 42 Districts	268,281	17.3	95.72
Rockville Centre	69	1.6	a	All Other	11,994	.6	4.28
Kingston	62	.6	a				
Syracuse	62	.2	a	State Total	280,275	8.2	100.00

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[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] Less than .1 percent.

Table 9

Selected New York State School Districts[a] Ranked by Proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican Students in 1968[1]

Rank	District	County	Total Pupils	% Negro & P. R.	Rank	District	County	Total Pupils	% Negro & P. R.
1	WYANDANCH*	Suffolk	2,304	93.6	22	BEACON	Dutchess	3,393	22.4
2	HEMPSTEAD*	Nassau	5,828	73.2	23	PECONIC	Suffolk	27	22.2
3	ROOSEVELT*	Nassau	3,906	71.5	24	NEW ROCHELLE	Westchester	12,331	21.5
4	BRIDGEHAMPTON	Suffolk	378	55.6	25	SYRACUSE*	Onondaga	30,428	21.1
5	NEW YORK CITY		1,118,676	55.2	26	WHITE PLAINS*	Westchester	8,964	20.8
6	MOUNT VERNON*	Westchester	12,332	52.8	27	BELLPORT*	Suffolk	4,377	20.5
7	MALVERNE*	Nassau	2,905	47.6	28	LACKAWANNA	Erie	5,865	18.8
8	AMITYVILLE*	Suffolk	4,531	41.4	29	OSSINING	Westchester	5,473	17.0
9	WESTBURY*	Nassau	5,040	41.2	30	GLEN COVE*	Nassau	5,364	16.7
10	BUFFALO*	Erie	71,665	38.6	31.5	NIAGARA FALLS*	Niagara	18,426	16.3
11	PEEKSKILL*	Westchester	3,340	33.6	31.5	YONKERS	Westchester	30,794	16.3
12	GREENBURGH*	Westchester	4,174	33.1	33	UTICA	Oneida	14,581	12.9
13	POUGHKEEPSIE	Dutchess	5,937	32.9	34	LONG BEACH*	Nassau	6,279	12.5
14	ROCHESTER*	Monroe	47,372	32.2	35	TROY	Rensselaer	7,292	12.4
15	ALBANY*	Albany	12,010	30.9	36	GENEVA*	Ontario	3,383	10.7
16	FREEPORT*	Nassau	7,429	30.7	37	SPRING VALLEY*	Rockland	15,283	9.0
17	RIVERHEAD	Suffolk	4,240	30.6	38	SCHENECTADY*	Schenectady	12,928	7.6
18	NEWBURGH	Orange	12,720	25.9	39	ROCKVILLE CENTRE*	Nassau	4,373	7.3
19	MIDDLE ISLAND*	Suffolk	2,925	24.5	40	ELMIRA*	Chemung	14,126	6.4
20	SOUTHAMPTON	Suffolk	1,860	23.8	41	KINGSTON	Ulster	10,926	5.9
21	NYACK*	Rockland	3,651	23.5	42	SUFFERN*	Rockland	5,104	1.8

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[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] All districts with more than 20 percent Negro enrollment except special districts, districts with schools with more than 31 percent Negro enrollment in 1966 or 1968, districts receiving State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance in 1966, 1967 or 1968.

*Received State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance.

percent minority pupils; eight had between 30 and 40 percent, and 10 had between 20 and 30 percent. A total of 27 districts had more than 20 percent Negro and Puerto Rican students.

As Table 9 also shows, districts ranged in size from a handful of pupils in Peconic, a one-teacher district in Suffolk County, to over a million in New York City. Fifteen had over 10,000 pupils, 11 between 5,000 and 10,000, 14 between 1,000 and 5,000, and 2 less than 1,000. The district with the highest proportion of minority pupils, Wyandanch with 93.6 percent, had an enrollment of 2,304. The second highest district, Hempstead, with 73.2 percent, had 5,828 pupils. New York, the largest district with more than a million pupils, ranked fifth in proportion of minority pupils.

As for location, also shown in Table 9, the 41 districts outside of New York City were located in 17 counties. The majority, 26 of the 41, were in the New York City Metropolitan area: 8 in Nassau County, 8 in Suffolk County, 7 in Westchester County and 3 in Rockland County. Only six of the districts, Poughkeepsie, Newburgh, Beacon, Geneva, Elmira and Kingston, were outside of some metropolitan area. Four of these are in the Hudson River Valley within 95 miles of New York City.

Thirteen of the districts, including New York City, were urban centers in metropolitan areas. Four of these cities, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle, White Plains and Yonkers were in Westchester County. Five of the urban center districts had over 30 percent Negro and Puerto Rican students: New York City, Mount Vernon, Buffalo, Rochester and Albany.

The districts with the highest proportions of minority pupils were on Long Island. Nassau and Suffolk counties combined had 13 of the 27 districts with more than 20 percent Negro and Puerto Rican pupils. Seven of the 16 districts on Long Island had more than 40 percent Negroes and

Puerto Ricans. Six other Long Island districts had between 20 and 40 percent.

This analysis clearly shows that concentrations of minority pupils are not the problem of large city school systems alone. They exist in districts large and small, urban and suburban, and in some smaller districts the proportions of minority pupils are many times larger than in all but the very largest school districts.

Comparisons with Surrounding Districts--A further measure of the concentration of minority groups is in the contrast between the proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in one school district and that in neighboring school districts. Table 10 shows the proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the 42 selected districts in 1968, the proportions in the counties where they are located, and the proportions in all other districts in those counties. The counties are arranged by Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas so that these data may be compared with information in prior sections on general population trends in New York State. District enrollment figures and the percentages of pupils in each of the two minority groups, Negro and Puerto Rican, are shown in Appendix F, Table 42.

With two exceptions, the proportions of minority pupils in the selected districts were, in 1968, several to many times greater than those in surrounding districts. The most striking examples are in Erie, Onondaga, Monroe, Albany and Nassau Counties. In Erie County, Buffalo had 38.6 percent minority pupils, and Lackawanna had 18.8 percent; the other 27 districts in the county together had .4 percent. In Onondaga County, Syracuse had 21.1 percent minority pupils; the other 17 districts had .4 percent. In Monroe County, Rochester had 32.2 percent minority pupils; the other 17 districts had .9 percent. In Albany County, the City of Albany had 30.9

Table 10

Comparison of Minority Proportions in 42 Selected School Districts with Minority Proportions in Counties of Location and All Other Districts in Those Counties 1968
(Counties Arranged by Standard Statistical Metropolitan Areas;
Districts Ranked Within Counties by Minority Proportion)[1]

Area	% Minority[a]
NEW YORK CITY SMSA	
New York City	55.2
Westchester County	14.4
Mount Vernon	52.8
Peekskill	33.6
Greenburgh	33.1
New Rochelle	21.5
White Plains	20.8
Ossining	17.0
Yonkers	16.3
39 Other Districts	5.3
Rockland County	6.9
Nyack	23.5
Spring Valley	9.0
Suffern	1.8
6 Other Districts	4.6
Nassau County	6.2
Hempstead	73.2
Roosevelt	71.5
Malverne	47.6
Westbury	41.2
Freeport	30.7
Glen Cove	16.7
Long Beach	12.5
Rockville Centre	7.3
49 Other Districts	2.0
Suffolk County	7.6
Wyandanch	93.6
Suffolk County (cont'd.)	
Bridgehampton	55.6
Amityville	41.4
Riverhead	30.6
Middle Island	24.5
Southampton	23.8
Peconic	22.2
Bellport	20.5
64 Other Districts	5.3
BUFFALO SMSA	
Erie County	13.7
Buffalo	38.6
Lackawanna	18.8
27 Other Districts	.4
Niagara County	6.7
Niagara Falls	16.3
9 Other Districts	2.1
ROCHESTER SMSA	
Monroe County	11.5
Rochester	32.2
17 Other Districts	.9
SYRACUSE SMSA	
Onondaga County	6.6
Syracuse	21.1
17 Other Districts	.4
ALBANY-SCHENECTADY-TROY SMSA	
Albany County	8.8
Albany	30.9
12 Other Districts	1.2
Schenectady County	3.5
Schenectady	7.6
6 Other Districts	.5
Rensselaer County	4.1
Troy	12.4
12 Other Districts	1.2
UTICA-ROME SMSA	
Oneida County	4.3
Utica	12.9
18 Other Districts	1.5
OUTSIDE SMSAs	
Chemung County	4.0
Elmira	6.4
2 Other Districts	.5
Dutchess County	8.2
Poughkeepsie	32.9
Beacon	22.4
11 Other Districts	2.9
Ontario County	2.9
Geneva	10.7
8 Other Districts	1.1
Orange County	10.6
Newburgh	25.9
17 Other Districts	5.3
Ulster County	6.1
Kingston	5.9
8 Other Districts	6.3

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[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969

[a] Negro and Puerto Rican combined.

percent minority pupils; 12 other districts together had 1.2 percent. In Nassau County, eight school districts had minority percentages ranging from 7.3 to 73.2 with highs of 73.2 percent in Hempstead, 71.5 percent in Roosevelt, 47.6 percent in Malverne and 41.2 percent in Westbury. The other 49 districts in Nassau County had 2.0 percent minority pupils.

The two exceptions to the generalization about district contrasts within counties were in Rockland County and Ulster County. In Rockland County, Nyack had 23.5 percent minority pupils, Spring Valley had 9.0 percent and Suffern had 1.8 percent; the other six districts in the county had 4.6 percent minority pupils, a higher proportion than in Suffern. In Suffern, however, there had been one school with more than 31 percent Negro pupils in 1966, hence its inclusion in this report. The second exception in Ulster County is a similar situation. Kingston with only 5.9 percent minority pupils in 1968 had one school with more than 31 percent Negro pupils in 1966 and, therefore, was included in this study. The other districts in Ulster County had 6.3 percent minority pupils but no high concentrations in individual schools.

Another interesting contrast is in the proportion of minority pupils in "other districts" in the upstate metropolitan areas as opposed to the New York City Metropolitan area. In the four counties near New York City (Westchester, Rockland, Nassau and Suffolk) there were 5.3 percent, 4.6 percent, 2.0 percent and 5.3 percent minority pupils, respectively.

In four of the eight counties in the other metropolitan areas (Erie, Monroe, Onondaga and Schenectady), the proportion of minority pupils in the other districts was less than 1 percent.

The contrasts between minority proportions in high concentration districts and in surrounding districts are further evidence of what has been described as the polarization of the American society into two societies, black and white (U. S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968). The data already presented on trends in the general population and data on trends in school district populations to be discussed in the following section indicate that these contrasts will become more pronounced unless steps are taken to counteract them. Some efforts toward mitigating the urban-suburban contrast through pupil exchange are discussed in Chapter V, Studies of Integration at the Local Level.

Changes in School District Size and Minority Status

All of the 42 districts experienced changes in enrollments between 1966 and 1968, the year in which the most recent data available were collected.

> Thirty-four districts increased in total enrollment over the two-year period; eight districts decreased.
>
> Twenty districts lost white students; twenty-two districts increased in numbers of white students.
>
> Thirty-seven districts gained Negro pupils; five lost Negro students.
>
> Thirty-two districts added Puerto Rican students; eight lost Puerto Rican pupils; and two remained without any.
>
> The proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils increased in thirty-six districts; in six it declined.

Table 11 shows the total enrollment of each district for the three successive years, the percentage of Negro and Puerto Rican students in each year and the direction of changes in total enrollment and in the size of each of the ethnic groups. Enrollment figures and proportions for each ethnic group in each district are given in Appendix F, Tables 43, 44, 45 and 46.

The growth in 12 school districts is accounted for by increases in Negro or Negro and Puerto Rican enrollments alone. Only two districts

Table 11

Changes in School District Size and Ethnic Proportions of 42 Selected School Districts: 1966-1968 (Districts Ranked by Percent Negro and Puerto Rican in 1968)[1]

District	Total Enrollment			% Negro and Puerto Rican			Change in Numbers, 1966-68			
	1966	1967	1968	1966	1967	1968	Total	Other	Negro	Puerto Rican
Wyandanch	2,255	2,253	2,304	83.7	87.4	93.6	+	-	+	-
Hempstead	5,306	5,497	5,828	68.6	71.1	73.2	+	-	+	+
Roosevelt	3,676	3,846	3,906	53.4	60.0	71.5	+	-	+	+
Bridgehampton	404	389	378	50.5	50.6	55.6	-	-	+	0
New York City	1,084,818	1,105,549	1,118,676	50.2	52.0	55.2	+	-	+	+
Mount Vernon	12,059	12,964	12,332	46.0	48.7	52.8	+	-	+	+
Malverne	2,999	2,911	2,905	44.6	46.9	47.6	-	-	+	-
Amityville	4,496	4,499	4,531	36.4	37.5	41.4	+	-	+	+
Westbury	5,044	5,078	5,040	34.3	36.9	41.2	-	-	+	+
Buffalo	72,762	72,692	71,665	36.2	36.9	38.6	-	-	+	+
Peekskill	3,244	3,322	3,340	29.1	29.9	33.6	+	-	+	+
Greenburgh	2,989	3,073	4,174	36.7	38.2	33.1	+	+	+	+
Poughkeepsie	5,811	5,809	5,937	27.4	28.4	32.9	+	-	+	+
Rochester	45,365	46,570	47,372	28.4	30.1	32.2	+	-	+	+
Albany	12,991	12,674	12,010	28.4	29.1	30.9	-	-	-	+
Freeport	7,262	7,334	7,429	22.9	26.0	30.7	+	-	+	+
Riverhead	3,898	4,211	4,240	28.8	30.0	30.6	+	+	+	+
Newburgh	11,531	12,204	12,720	23.4	24.2	25.9	+	+	+	+
Middle Island	2,854	2,868	2,925	29.3	26.5	24.5	+	+	-	+
Southhampton	1,784	1,710	1,860	21.7	23.9	23.8	+	+	+	-

Table 11 (Continued)

Nyack	3,584	3,589	3,651	22.6	23.8	23.5	+	+	+	-
Beacon	3,173	3,227	3,393	22.9	23.4	22.4	+	+	-	+
Peconic	24	30	27	41.7	40.0	22.2	+	+	-	0
New Rochelle	12,273	12,581	12,331	17.9	19.7	21.5	+	-	+	+
Syracuse	30,650	30,862	30,428	17.6	19.4	21.1	-	-	+	+
White Plains	8,831	8,867	8,964	17.1	17.6	20.8	+	-	+	+
Bellport	3,849	4,023	4,377	19.0	21.1	20.5	+	+	+	+
Lackawanna	5,644	5,742	5,865	17.9	18.9	18.8	+	+	+	+
Ossining	5,183	5,525	5,473	14.3	15.0	17.0	+	+	+	+
Glen Cove	5,025	5,234	5,364	13.4	13.5	16.7	+	+	+	+
Niagara Falls	19,043	18,860	18,426	15.1	15.8	16.3	-	-	+	-
Yonkers	29,475	30,296	30,794	13.7	14.6	16.3	+	+	+	+
Utica	15,120	14,869	14,581	10.9	11.5	12.9	-	-	+	+
Long Beach	6,089	6,195	6,279	9.8	11.4	12.5	+	+	+	+
Troy	6,827	6,865	7,292	11.7	11.8	12.4	+	+	+	-
Geneva	3,195	3,325	3,383	10.9	10.4	10.7	+	+	+	+
Spring Valley	12,366	14,327	15,283	7.2	8.4	9.0	+	+	+	+
Schenectady	12,409	12,624	12,928	7.0	7.3	7.6	+	+	+	+
Rockville Centre	4,201	4,314	4,373	4.9	6.4	7.3	+	+	+	+
Elmira	13,870	14,151	14,126	5.6	6.3	6.4	+	+	+	-
Kingston	10,089	10,495	10,926	5.2	5.6	5.9	+	+	+	+
Suffern	4,286	4,908	5,104	3.2	3.0	1.8	+	+	-	-

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[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

increased because of white gains alone. The decrease in five school districts is due to white losses and in two others to white and Puerto Rican losses. Negroes contributed to an overall loss of students in only one district.

The eight districts that ran counter to the Statewide trend of increased enrollments were the five city districts of Buffalo, Albany, Syracuse, Niagara Falls and Utica, and three Long Island districts, Bridgehampton, Malverne and Westbury. These eight districts had Negro and Puerto Rican enrollments ranging from 10.9 percent to 50.5 percent in 1966.

Fifteen of the 20 districts that lost white pupils are included in the 16 districts with the highest proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican students in 1968; all had over 20 percent minority enrollments in 1966. The only district of the top group to have gained white pupils was Greenburgh, which increased in overall size by merging with another district. The other five districts which lost white pupils were urban center districts which had substantial numbers, although somewhat lower proportions, of Negro and Puerto Rican students (New Rochelle, Syracuse, White Plains, Niagara Falls and Utica).

The relationship between the proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the study districts and their loss or gain of white pupils between 1966 and 1968 is an interesting one. With Greenburgh excluded because of its merger, the correlation between rank order on minority proportions in 1966 and rank order on loss of white pupils over the two year period is .54 for the 41 districts ($p < .01$). High proportions of minority pupils are associated with high losses of white pupils.

An increase in Negro pupils was the common experience of most of the districts. The five districts that lost Negro pupils include the smallest suburban district, Peconic; two other suburban districts, Middle Island and Suffern; and two city districts, Albany and Beacon. The loss of Negro pupils lowered the proportion of Negroes in the district in only four cases, Peconic, Middle Island, Suffern and Beacon.

Except in New York City, Puerto Ricans made up a very small proportion of the total school enrollments of the 42 districts. Of the 32 districts that gained Puerto Rican pupils, two, White Plains and Albany, reported none in 1966. The districts where Puerto Rican increases affected the proportion of minority pupils in the total school population to any marked degree, i.e., raised it by more than 1 percent, were New York City, Rochester, White Plains, Ossining, Glen Cove, Yonkers and Rockville Centre.

The consequence of all of the changes that took place was the increase in the proportion of minority pupils, Negroes and Puerto Ricans, in 36 of the districts and the decline of that proportion in six other districts.

The school district changes may be further analyzed as to the extent of the changes that occurred and the number of pupils involved. Table 12 shows the percentage changes in total enrollment, "Others", Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the 42 districts from 1966 to 1968.

The largest percentage increases in total enrollment were in three suburban districts, Greenburgh, Spring Valley and Suffern. The Greenburgh increase, as noted elsewhere, was largely due to a merger with another district. The biggest numerical increases were 34,000 in New York City, 2,900 in Spring Valley and 2,000 in Rochester. The largest percentage losses, 7.6 and 6.4, were in Albany and Bridgehampton. The largest numerical losses were 1,100 in Buffalo and 1,000 in Albany.

Percentage losses for white pupils ranged from 1 percent to 59.2

Table 12

Changes in Total Enrollment and Ethnic Groups in 42 Selected School Districts: 1966-1968 (Districts Ranked by Minority Status in 1968)[1]

District	Percent Change Total	Other	Negro	P.R.
Wyandanch	+ 2.2	-59.2	+14.7	- 4.2
Hempstead	+ 9.8	- 5.0	+16.3	+ 56.9
Roosevelt	+ 6.3	-35.2	+43.3	+ 2.4
Bridgehampton	- 6.4	-16.0	+ 2.9	a
New York City	+ 3.1	- 7.3[b]	+12.2	+ 15.2
Mount Vernon	+ 2.3	-10.8	+15.7	+ 143.7
Malverne	- 3.1	- 7.7	+ 3.5	- 14.3
Amityville	+ 0.8	- 7.3	+14.6	+ 15.8
Westbury	d	-10.0	+17.6	+ 180.8
Buffalo	- 1.5	- 5.2	+ 4.1	+ 20.9
Peekskill	+ 3.0	- 3.4	+17.1	+ 29.7
Greenburgh	+39.6	+47.0	+24.2	+ 950.0
Poughkeepsie	+ 2.2	- 5.5	+22.2	+ 266.7
Rochester	+ 4.4	- 1.0	+14.4	+ 65.6
Albany	- 7.6	-11.1	- 0.2	c
Freeport	+ 2.3	- 7.8	+34.2	+ 83.1
Riverhead	+ 8.8	+ 6.0	+14.0	+ 117.6
Newburgh	+10.3	+ 5.8	+19.0	+ 57.1
Middle Island	+ 2.5	+ 9.4	-17.1	+2400.0
Southampton	+ 4.3	+ 1.5	+14.2	- 100.0
Nyack	+ 1.9	+ 1.3	+ 6.3	- 7.7
Beacon	+ 6.9	+ 7.6	- 1.5	+ 33.9
Peconic	+12.5	+50.0	-40.0	a
New Rochelle	+ 0.5	- 4.1	+18.2	+ 254.2
Syracuse	- 0.7	- 5.4	+17.9	+1450.0
White Plains	+ 1.5	- 3.5	+ 8.5	e
Bellport	+13.7	+11.7	+20.4	+ 42.3
Lackawanna	+ 3.9	+ 3.4	+ 3.7	+ 66.7
Ossining	+ 5.6	+ 2.5	+15.3	+1114.3
Glen Cove	+ 6.7	+ 3.3	+23.7	+ 57.8
Niagara Falls	- 3.2	- 4.5	+ 4.6	- 14.3
Yonkers	+ 4.5	+ 1.6	+12.2	+ 77.6
Utica	- 3.6	- 5.7	+15.0	+ 2.0
Long Beach	+ 3.1	+ 0.2	+38.7	+ 11.0
Troy	+ 6.8	+ 5.9	+14.2	- 10.0
Geneva	+ 5.9	+ 6.2	+ 2.9	+ 15.4
Spring Valley	+23.6	+21.4	+50.3	+ 114.9
Schenectady	+ 4.2	+ 3.4	+13.1	+ 46.7
Rockville Centre	+ 4.1	+ 1.5	+26.9	+ 885.7
Elmira	+ 1.8	+ 1.0	+16.8	- 16.7
Kingston	+ 8.3	+ 7.4	+15.4	+ 169.6
Suffern	+19.1	+22.4	-35.4	- 8.7

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[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] No Puerto Rican pupils in district.

[b] Includes American Indians and Orientals

[c] Change from 0 to 30 pupils.

[d] Less than .1 percent.

[e] Change from 0 to 224 pupils.

percent. The highest was in Wyandanch, the district with the largest proportion of Negro pupils. A similarly high loss, 35.2 percent, occurred in Roosevelt, the third ranking district on minority proportion. In four other districts, the white loss was 10 percent or more of the white enrollment in 1966; in another nine districts it was between 5 and 10 percent. Numerically, the New York City loss was the greatest, 39,000 and exceeded the increase in Negroes in New York City, though not in the minority groups combined. White increases ranged from 0.2 percent to 50 percent; the largest percentage increase was in the smallest district. High percentage increases were coupled with high numerical increases in Spring Valley, which gained 2,400 "Others", and Suffern and Greenburgh, which gained about 900 "Others" each. Note has already been made of the correlation between rank on minority proportion and loss of white pupils.

Increases in Negro enrollments, occurring in 37 districts, ranged from 2.9 percent to 50.3 percent. The largest were in Spring Valley (50.3 percent) and Roosevelt (43.3 percent). Spring Valley is a fast-growing suburban school district where the white pupil population went up by over 21 percent for an over-all increase of nearly 24 percent. Roosevelt, on the other hand, lost better than 35 percent of its white pupils while gaining 6 percent in total enrollment. In general, there is a tendency for large losses in white pupils to be associated with large increases in minority pupils, but, as evidenced here, the relationship is not a constant or significant one. The districts with the largest numbers of Negroes had the largest numerical increases: 39,000 in New York City, 1,700 in Rochester, 1,000 in Buffalo, 1,000 in Syracuse, 900 in Mount Vernon, 800 in Roosevelt, 600 in Hempstead, 500 in Freeport and 500 in Newburgh.

As for decreases in Negro enrollments, the highest percentage loss was in the smallest district and involved only four pupils. The districts where the losses were significant in terms of both numbers and proportions were Middle Island, where the Negro enrollment dropped from 836 to 693, and Suffern, where it went from 113 to 73.

Because their numbers outside of New York City were small, increases in Puerto Ricans are drastically large when expressed in percents; many of the 32 districts that increased in Puerto Ricans show gains of several hundred percents. In actual number, the New York City gain was the greatest, over 34,000. Rochester and Yonkers gained about 600 each, White Plains and Buffalo about 200 each.

The enrollment changes in the 42 selected districts affirm the generalization that when there is a substantial concentration of Negroes in a school system, the proportion of Negroes in that system is likely to rise through a combination of Negro increases and white losses. This generalization holds true for suburban as well as urban districts.

The enrollment changes also make it clear that the achievement of integration and equal education will require continuing effort. The growth trends in the schools, as in the total population, augur greater, not lesser, concentrations of minority groups.

Isolation Within Districts

The numbers and proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a school population are but two indicators of possible segregation. In the last analysis, equality of educational opportunity must be measured, in part, by the racial or ethnic composition of the schools.[11]

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[11] Later chapters of this report will show that social class composition is the crucial factor in improving the educational development of ethnic minority children. Social class isolation is most severely experienced in Negro-Puerto Rican schools.

To ascertain this mix of pupils, all elementary and secondary schools in the 42 districts were placed in 10 categories according to the percentage of "Other" pupils enrolled, i.e., Category I, 0 to 10.9 percent "Others"; Category II, 11 to 20.9 percent "Others"; and so forth through Category X, 91.0 to 100 percent "Others". Category I schools, with 0-10.9 percent "Others", are those with the highest proportion of minority pupils, at least 89 percent; Category X schools are those with the fewest, 9 percent or less. A low proportion of "Others" is indicative of racial or ethnic isolation; higher proportions of "Others" indicate that some measure of ethnic balance has been achieved.

In 1968, more than 50 percent of the Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in the 42 districts were in Category I, "nearly-all-minority" schools with less than 11 percent "Others". Another 29 percent of the Negroes and Puerto Ricans were in schools in Categories II through V where they made up 49 percent to 89 percent of the enrollments. Altogether, 79 percent of the minority children, 576,000, attended school where they were the majority. The remaining 21 percent, some 154,000, were distributed in schools with higher percentages of "Others," with only 1 percent in Category X, schools with less than 9 percent minority pupils.

Table 13 gives the percents and the actual numbers of children in schools with varying proportions of "Others" in 1968 and compares it with similar data for 1967. In the 42 districts combined, the numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in Category I, the most segregated schools, increased by nearly 24 percent in 1968. The numbers in the next two categories declined slightly, but those in Categories IV and V increased. The net result was an increase in the number of minority pupils in schools with less than 51 percent "Others" (i.e., those schools which are racially imbalanced

Table 13

Distribution of Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in 42 Selected School Districts in Schools with Varying Proportions of Others: 1967 and 1968[1]

School Category	Percent "Others"[a] in Schools	Number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans		Percent Negro and Puerto Rican	
		1967	1968	1967	1968
I	0 - 10.9	296,576	366,361	43.5	50.2
II	11 - 20.9	87,118	74,566	12.8	10.2
III	21 - 30.9	49,496	45,024	7.3	6.2
IV	31 - 40.9	46,404	51,736	6.8	7.1
V	41 - 50.9	32,802	38,270	4.8	5.2
I - V	0 - 50.9	512,396	575,957	75.2	78.9
VI	51 - 60.9	40,514	30,905	5.9	4.2
VII	61 - 70.9	40,836	38,184	6.0	5.2
VIII	71 - 80.9	35,321	42,939	5.2	5.9
IX	81 - 90.9	39,898	34,105	5.9	4.7
X	91 - 100	12,126	8,282	1.8	1.1
I - X	0 - 100	681,091	730,372	100.0	100.0

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] Pupils not reported as Indian, Negro, Spanish-Surnamed-American or Oriental.

using an arbitrary 50 percent "Other" as the criterion). Thus there was an intensification of ethnic isolation in the schools of New York State in 1968. The most significant fact shown by Table 13 is that the increase in the number of minority pupils in Category I schools alone was greater than the increase in Categories I through V combined, approximately 70,000 as compared to 64,000. This clearly indicates that ethnic isolation was intensified most severely in those schools that already had large proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

While Statewide figures establish the magnitude of the problem of ethnic isolation, it is again necessary to examine the individual districts to determine just where and under what circumstances it occurs.

Because New York City with more than half a million Negro and Puerto Rican pupils presents a situation unmatched by any other district, it will be treated separately. Attention will then be given to the 41 other school districts.

Minority Pupils in New York City Schools

Table 14 shows the distribution of minority pupils in New York City schools with varying proportions of "Others" in 1967 and 1968. In 1968, 55 percent of the Negro and Puerto Rican pupils were in Category I, nearly-all-minority schools; nearly 85 percent were in Categories I through V combined. The 338,000 children in the nearly-all-minority schools in the City of New York made up 44 percent of all Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in public elementary and secondary schools in New York State.

In one year, 1967 to 1968, the proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in Category I schools rose from 47 percent to 55 percent. Both white losses and Negro and Puerto Rican increases account for this intensification of isolation in New York City schools. The growth trends in New York City's school population leave no doubt that the isolation will be even greater when the next report is made.

Minority Pupils in Other Districts

Full information on the numbers and proportions of Negro and Puerto

Table 14

Distribution of Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in New York City Schools with Varying Proportions of Other Pupils: 1967 and 1968[1]

School Category	Percent "Others"[a] in Schools	Number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans 1967	Number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans 1968	Percent Negro and Puerto Rican 1967	Percent Negro and Puerto Rican 1968
I	0 - 10.9	270,313	337,902	47.0	54.7
II	11 - 20.9	79,985	68,176	13.9	11.0
III	21 - 30.9	42,660	37,135	7.4	6.0
IV	31 - 40.9	39,988	46,353	6.9	7.5
V	41 - 50.9	28,331	33,579	4.9	5.4
I - V	0 - 50.9	461,277	523,145	80.1	84.7
VI	51 - 60.9	29,829	18,391	5.2	3.0
VII	61 - 70.9	28,861	26,180	5.0	4.2
VIII	71 - 80.9	23,979	27,283	4.2	4.4
IX	81 - 90.9	25,779	18,986	4.5	3.1
X	91 -100	5,894	3,370	1.0	0.5
I - X	0 -100	575,619	617,355	100.0	100.0

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] Pupils not reported as Indian, Negro, Spanish-Surnamed-American or Oriental.

Rican pupils in category schools in each of the 42 districts is given in Appendix F, Tables 47 and 48. The following analysis of data on the 41 districts outside of New York City will focus on three points: (1) nearly-all-minority schools, (2) majority schools and (3) changes in levels of isolation.

Nearly-all-Minority Schools--In both 1967 and 1968, eight of the 41 other districts outside of New York City had Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in Category I, nearly-all-minority schools. However, one new district joined this group in 1968, while another eliminated Category I schools after 1967. All nine districts are listed in Table 15.

Table 15

Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in Category I Schools
in Districts Outside of New York City:
1967 and 1968[1]

(Districts Ranked by Minority Percent)

District	Number		Percent		Percent Minority In District	
	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968
Wyandanch	709	2,156	36.0	100.0	87.4	93.6
Hempstead	2,481	2,619	62.5	61.5	71.1	73.2
Mount Vernon	1,256	1,751	19.9	26.9	48.7	52.8
Buffalo	16,832	16,614	62.9	60.1	36.9	38.6
Rochester	3,581	4,005	25.5	26.3	30.1	32.2
Albany	95	80	2.6	2.2	29.1	30.9
Newburgh	878	1,013	29.9	30.7	24.2	25.9
Niagara Falls	431	0	14.4	0	15.8	16.3
Utica	0	221	0	11.8	11.5	12.9

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

Two of the nine districts in Table 15 are the suburban districts which have the highest proportions of minority pupils, and seven are city districts with total enrollments of over 12,000. Minority enrollments in all these districts are large, ranging from more than 1,800 to nearly 28,000. All of the districts are gaining in minority pupils; all but one, Newburgh, has been losing white pupils.

In 1968 the proportions of minority pupils in Category I schools in these districts ranged from just over 2 percent to 100 percent. In six districts it was over 25 percent of the total minority population. The extreme of 100 percent minority pupils in Category I schools in Wyandanch corresponds to the high minority proportion, nearly 94 percent, in that district. In Wyandanch and Mount Vernon, the proportions and numbers of pupils in Category I schools were substantially higher in 1968 than 1967.

Utica had no Category I schools in 1967 but had 11.8 percent of its minority pupils in Category II schools. As shown in Table 15, the same percentage was in Category I schools in 1968. By then the district had no Category II schools. This suggests intensified isolation in given schools. Niagara Falls, the one district that eliminated Category I schools, did so through a reorganization of school boundaries with State aid. This was accomplished in spite of an increase in its proportion of minority pupils.

Majority Schools--Over the two years 1967-68, 28 of the 41 school districts had Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in category I-V schools, schools with less than 51 percent "Others". These are schools where, for all intents and **purposes**, the minority is the majority. There were 27 such districts in 1967 and 22 in 1968. One new district had increased isolation in 1968 while six districts had eliminated schools with 49 percent or more minority pupils. Table 16 lists the 28 districts.

Of the 22 districts with "majority" schools in 1968, five had minority proportions exceeding 50 percent of their total enrollment. For these districts, lower category schools were impossible unless there was a differ-

Table 16

Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in Schools with Less than 51 Percent Other by District: 1967 - 1968[1]

District	Number		Percent		Percent Minority in District	
	1967	1968	1967	1968	1967	1968
Wyandanch	1,970	2,156	100.0	100.0	87.4	93.6
Hempstead	3,689	3,943	92.9	92.5	71.1	73.2
Roosevelt	2,294	2,779	99.4	99.5	60.0	71.5
Bridgehampton	197	210	100.0	100.0	50.6	55.6
Mount Vernon	3,726	3,918	59.0	60.2	48.7	52.8
Malverne	454	730	33.2	52.7	46.9	47.6
Amityville	0	371	0	19.8	37.5	41.4
Westbury	326	774	17.4	37.2	36.9	41.2
Buffalo	19,820	19,811	74.0	71.7	36.9	38.6
Peekskill	169	368	17.0	32.9	29.9	33.6
Greenburgh	77	81	6.6	5.9	38.2	33.1
Poughkeepsie	640	1,062	38.7	54.4	28.4	32.9
Rochester	7,755	8,001	55.2	52.5	30.1	32.2
Albany	1,970	1,562	53.3	42.1	29.1	30.9
Newburgh	1,618	1,833	55.0	55.5	24.2	25.9
Nyack	274	0	32.0	0	23.8	23.5
New Rochelle	264	260	10.7	9.8	19.7	21.5
Syracuse	2,177	2,060	36.4	32.0	19.4	21.1
Lackawanna	869	867	80.1	79.4	18.9	18.8
Ossining	35	0	4.2	0	15.0	17.0
Glen Cove	96	115	13.6	12.8	13.5	16.7
Niagara Falls	570	324	19.1	10.8	15.8	16.3
Yonkers	1,219	1,366	27.6	27.2	14.6	16.3
Utica	201	221	11.8	11.8	11.5	12.9
Troy	277	0	34.0	0	11.8	12.4
Geneva	138	0	39.8	0	10.4	10.7
Elmira	206	0	23.0	0	6.3	6.4
Suffern	88	0	59.5	0	3.0	1.8

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[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

ence in the composition of the elementary and secondary school enrollments, i.e., a greater proportion of minority pupils in the lower grades than in high school. In the 17 other districts with "majority" schools in 1968, the proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the total enrollment ranged from 12.9 to 47.6 percent.

In 1968, among the 22 districts, the proportions of minority pupils in schools with less than 51 percent "Others" ranged from 5.9 percent to 100 percent. Discrepancies between minority proportions in districts and in schools within districts are readily apparent in Table 16. For example, Buffalo had 38.6 percent Negro and Puerto Rican pupils, but over 70 percent of these were in "majority" schools. Poughkeepsie with 33 percent minority pupils had 54 percent of them in "majority" schools. Newburgh had 26 percent minority pupils, but 56 percent were in "majority" schools; Lackawanna had 19 percent minority pupils with 79 percent in "majority" schools. In the cases cited, high proportions of each district's minority pupils were in schools with ethnic isolation. In other districts, the proportions were smaller. Amityville, for instance, had 41 percent minority pupils; with 20 percent of these in "majority" schools. Greenburgh had 33 percent minority pupils with 6 percent in "majority" schools. New Rochelle had 21 percent minority pupils with 10 percent in "majority" schools. In these latter districts, ethnic isolation was less extensive.

In eight of the school districts the proportions of minority pupils in "majority" schools were higher in 1968 than in 1967. The sharpest increases were in Poughkeepsie, Westbury, Peekskill, Malverne and Amityville. The last named had no pupils in "majority" schools in 1967. Eleven of the districts had lower proportions in "majority" schools in 1968 than in 1967. The biggest decreases were in Niagara Falls, where the proportion dropped from 19.1 to 10.8 percent; Albany, where it went from 53.3 to 42.1 percent; and Syracuse, where it went from 36.4 to 32.0 percent. These three districts have received State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance as have 12 other districts that currently have "majority" schools. It should be noted that six city school districts with "majority" schools and large enrollments have never received State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance. They are Poughkeepsie, Lackawanna, New Rochelle, Newburgh, Yonkers and Utica.

Six districts eliminated "majority" schools in 1968: Nyack, Ossining, Troy, Geneva, Elmira and Suffern. The proportions of minority pupils in these districts ranged in 1968 from 1.8 percent in Suffern to 23.5 percent in Nyack. However, the number of pupils in "majority" schools in these districts in 1967 ranged from only 35 in Ossining to a high of 277 in Troy. The contrast with the numbers of pupils in "majority" schools in some other districts is obvious Four of these districts, Nyack, Geneva, Elmira and Suffern have received State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance.

Changes in Levels of Isolation

The level of isolation for a given district is determined by the highest category school in that district, i.e., by the school with the largest proportion of minority pupils. It does not involve the distribution of minority pupils among category schools.

The level of minority isolation changed in 20 districts between 1967 and 1968; in 13 it decreased; in 7 it increased. Table 17 shows the changes in level of isolation in the 20 districts where it occurred. Five of the 13 decreases in level of isolation are substantial, exceeding more than one step. They are in Nyack, Troy, Geneva, Elmira and Suffern. It should be noted, however, that in these districts, the number of pupils in schools with the higher isolation levels in 1967 ranged from only 12 to 431; in only one case was it over 300. All of the five districts but Troy received State Aid for Correcting Racial Imbalance.

Four of the seven districts where the level of minority isolation increased have shown a loss of white students: Amityville, Peekskill, White

Plains and Utica. Long Beach and Spring Valley, two other districts with increased levels, are districts which are experiencing high percentage increases in minority pupils.

Table 17

Districts with Change in Level of Minority Isolation: 1967-68[1]

Decreases			Increases		
	Highest Category School			Highest Category School	
District	1967	1968	District	1967	1968
Malverne	IV	V	Amityville	VI	V
Nyack	V	VIII	Peekskill	V	IV
Beacon	VI	VII	Greenburgh	IV	III
Peconic	VI	VIII	White Plains	VIII	VII
New Rochelle	IV	V	Utica	II	I
Bellport	VII	VIII	Long Beach	VII	VI
Ossining	V	VI	Spring Valley	IX	VIII
Niagara Falls	I	II			
Troy	IV	VI			
Geneva	IV	IX			
Elmira	IV	VII			
Kingston	VII	VIII			
Suffern	V	X			

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

Summary and Conclusions

In Chapter II, attention has been given to population patterns in the Nation and in New York State that determine the ethnic composition of the schools and to the current status of school integration in the public schools of New York State. Following are the most pertinent findings from this review:

1. In a growing nation, the Negro population has been

increasing at a faster rate than has the white population. Because of its higher birth rate and comparative youth, the proportion of Negroes in the country, already 11 percent, can be expected to continue to increase.

2. Negro migration to the big cities, the high Negro birth rate, residential restrictions and the exodus of whites to the suburbs have created large concentrations of Negroes in the urban centers of the Nation where their proportions are much higher than in surrounding communities. With the differential birth rates of whites and Negroes, the ethnic disparities between urban and suburban populations can be expected to intensify.
3. Patterns of Negro concentration make for increasingly large proportions of Negro pupils in some school systems and magnify the problem of integration. De facto segregation and racial isolation are increasingly prevalent in spite of Supreme Court rulings and efforts to assure equality of educational opportunity.
4. New York State, which has in New York City the greatest aggregation of Negroes in the State and in the country, has had a threefold increase in its Negro population in less than 30 years. The number of Negroes has grown from less than 600,000 to about two million, from less than 4.5 percent to over 10 percent of the total population. In addition to its Negro minority, New York State has a Puerto Rican minority which has been expanding rapidly. The more than one million Puerto Ricans in New York State make up nearly

6 percent of the total population. With their higher birth rates, the numbers and proportions of both Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the State can be expected to increase in the years ahead.

5. Seventy-five percent of all nonwhites in New York State and 95 percent of the Puerto Ricans live in New York City. Concentrations of Negroes are also found in the urban centers of metropolitan areas throughout the State, in some suburban communities in the New York City Metropolitan Area, and in a few smaller cities close to New York City. In general, the smaller the population unit examined, the greater is the proportion of Negroes. That is, analysis by census tracts in large cities shows extremely high proportions of Negroes that are immediately evident in some smaller communities. With continuation of current trends, the proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in those areas where they are now concentrated can be expected to rise. A particularly high rate of Negro increase in Nassau and Suffolk Counties will find an increasing proportion of the State's minority population on Long Island.
6. The increase in the numbers and proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the State is reflected in an increase in the numbers and proportions of minority pupils in the public schools of the State. In 1968, Negroes and Puerto Ricans made up nearly 23 percent of the public school enrollment, and this proportion can be

expected to continue to increase.

7. In keeping with the concentration of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in certain areas, the largest numbers and proportions of minority pupils are found in the large city school districts of the State, in a few suburban school districts in Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland Counties, and in a small number of smaller city districts close to New York City. The proportions of minority pupils in the smaller districts are in some cases many times higher than those in the urban districts. The proportions of minority pupils in high concentration districts are many times greater than in surrounding districts.
8. In the two-year period studied (1966-1968), there were increases in the numbers and proportions of the Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in most of the 42 school districts selected for analysis. In both urban and suburban districts with higher proportions of minority pupils, there was a concomitant loss of white pupils and in some cases a decrease in total enrollment. High proportions of Negro pupils were specifically associated with white losses. Given the higher birth rates of the minority groups, and the residential patterns of Negroes, whites and Puerto Ricans, the trend toward higher proportions of minority pupils in some districts can be expected to continue.
9. As the number and proportion of Negroes and Puerto Rican pupils have risen, the number and proportion of minority

children in schools with more than 49 percent minority pupils have grown. In one year, between 1967 and 1968, the number of minority pupils in schools with 89 percent or more Negroes and Puerto Ricans increased by 24 percent. The increase in the number of minority pupils in such schools was in fact greater than the increase in the number in schools with 49 percent or more Negroes. Racial isolation in New York State schools has increased and has been most severely intensified in those schools that already had large proportions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

10. The problem of ethnic isolation is of the greatest magnitude in New York City where over one-half million Negro and Puerto Rican pupils were in schools having more than 49 percent minority pupils (in 1968); 338,000 pupils were in schools having more than 89 percent minority pupils. Growth trends in the New York City schools, with increases in Negroes and Puerto Ricans and attendant white losses, leave no doubt that ethnic isolation in the city will intensify.

11. There are school districts outside New York City with equally high or higher proportions of minority pupils in schools with at least 89 percent Negroes and Puerto Ricans or with at least 49 percent minority pupils. Some of these districts have over 50 percent minority pupils, and the achievement of an equitable ethnic balance by redistribution of pupils within the schools of the district is

impossible. While pupil ratios within schools might be adjusted to conform with overall minority proportions in these districts, accommodation with neighboring districts would be necessary to bring about an educationally desirable balance.

Other districts with ethnic isolation, notably city districts such as Buffalo, Utica, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie and Lackawanna, have high proportions of minority pupils in ethnically isolated schools but the proportions of minority pupils in their total enrollments are more moderate. In these large districts, the possibility of achieving a more equitable ethnic balance appears to exist within the districts themselves.

12. Between 1967 and 1968, the level of ethnic isolation increased in some districts and decreased in others. In general, school districts which were able to reduce the level of ethnic isolation to any marked extent were those which had high minority concentrations in individual schools and a relatively low proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in their total enrollments. Where the proportion of minority pupils in a district is high, any lessening of ethnic isolation that occurs is apt to be undone as a result of the tendency for minority proportions to increase.

In summary, as Negro and Puerto Rican populations continue to increase and become more concentrated in given areas of the State, the problem of ethnic isolation in the schools becomes more intense. New and creative approaches with interdistrict cooperation will be necessary if there is to be any enduring achievement of equality of educational opportunity.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CLASS AND ETHNICITY: RELATIONSHIP TO INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND RELATED BEHAVIORS

This chapter presents a review of selected research on social class and ethnic relationships with the following educational or psychological factors: intelligence, school achievement, language development, special intellectual abilities, basic learning abilities, physical health, anxiety, achievement motivation, temporal orientation, self esteem and level of aspiration. The intent is to provide a selective review of major educationally relevant differences associated with social class and ethnic group membership--as a background for interpretation of the research discussed in other chapters of the report.

One of the main purposes of this review is to document what are more or less typical differences in levels of intellectual and educational development associated with differences in ethnic group membership or social class level. The review of other factors, such as language development, special abilities, and basic learning abilities, is intended to show some of the finer points of the differences between students of different social class levels and those of different minority groups. Knowledge of such differences is important when one attempts to understand why typical measures of social class explain only part of the intellectual and achievement deficits of certain minority groups. Findings of specific, probably largely culturally-determined, intellectual deficits associated with certain ethnic minorities may also explain in part why certain kinds of compensations typically made in educational programs have generally had only slight effects on educational development. Knowledge of gross and specific educational deficits is also important when examining the findings of research relating racial and social class isolation to intellectual development.

Further than this, knowledge of the relationship of certain personality variables with intellectual development is also important in the context of this report--if such factors have different implications as a function of social class level or ethnic group membership. Since it appears that this statement may be true for such educationally relevant factors as anxiety and achievement motivation, then these factors become particularly relevant when the findings of the research on integration and intellectual development are examined. With these preparatory remarks in mind, we shall proceed to the evidence on selected social class and ethnic differences.

Social Class and Ethnic Differences in Intellectual and Educational Development

Intelligence

Numerous studies document a low to low-moderate relationship between social class measures and IQ scores (r's range from about .25 to .50). Differences between social class groups vary over a range of one to two standard deviations or 15 to 30 IQ points (Jensen, 1969). It is usually found that measures of IQ do not differentiate children of different social class levels under two years of age (Furfey, 1928; Bayley and Jones, 1937; Knoblock and Pasamanick, 1960; Tyler, 1965), except on motor development portions of the tests (Jensen, 1969). From the age of two to three years on, however, social class differences on measures of intelligence become apparent and show an increasing divergence with age (Dreger and Miller, 1968).

Independent of socioeconomic differences, there are racial differences in IQ test scores as shown in a recent report by Jensen (1969). The results of a very large number of studies show that there is a median overlap of about 15 percent in the distributions of white and Negro IQ scores, meaning that about 15 percent of the Negro population exceeds the average IQ score for whites. With social class differences controlled, the average difference between Negro and white IQ scores reduces to about 11 points. Negroes also perform less well on tests of abstract abilities and relatively better on verbal than nonverbal intelligence tests (Jensen, 1969; Lesser, Fifer and Clark, 1965).

Achievement

The fact that lower class children do not achieve as well as children in the upper class is generally substantiated in studies at the elementary school level (Engle, 1934; Knief and Stroud, 1950; Sheldon and Carillo, 1952; Granzow, 1954; Dimitz, Kay and Reckless, 1958; Strodtbeck, 1958; Baker, 1961; Lovell and Woolsey, 1964; Cleveland and Bosworth, 1967; Hanson and Robinson, 1967), in junior high school and high school (Coleman, 1940; Sibley, 1942; Campbell, 1955; Miner, 1968), and with college students (Jenkins and Randall, 1948; Watson, 1965). The studies cited employed a variety of measures of school performance including standardized achievement tests, school grades, teacher ratings, highest school grade attained and average age for grade level.

Some evidence tends to indicate that social class background may be more important for achievement than is intellectual ability. In studies where the contribution of intelligence to achievement is controlled (i.e., held constant), social class differences in achievement have been observed (Knief and Stroud, 1950; Campbell, 1955; Curry, 1962; Watson, 1965; Cleveland and Bosworth, 1967; Miner, 1968). The relative contributions of social class background and intellectual ability to achievement have been summarized by McCandless (1967, p. 317):

> From the intelligence test differences between social classes, we would expect differences in school progress, middle- and upper-class children being expected to do better school work than lower-class children. The actual differences in academic achievement between social classes are even more dramatic than the differences in intellectual level. On the whole, lower-class children achieve less well in school than their intelligence tests predict they will, whereas middle- and upper-class children approach their academic potential more closely.

There is some question concerning the effects of social class background on achievement for children with different ability levels. Curry (1962) compared the achievement performance of high and low ability sixth graders (IQs above and below 116). Social class differences in achievement were found in the low ability group, but not for the high ability group. However, in a study of gifted children (McClelland, 1958), social class background differentiated subjects on a number of indexes of achievement and success after high school, although the subject groups compared were equivalent on measured intelligence.

Racial differences in achievement (social class effects uncontrolled) are approximately of the same magnitude as the IQ score differences between whites and Negroes. The massive data from the Coleman et al. (1966) report indicate an average difference of about one standard deviation between Negroes and whites in the Northeast at grades 6, 9 and 12 in the three areas of achievement shown in Table 18. Comparable data for

Puerto Rican students are also shown.

Table 18

Verbal Ability, Reading Comprehension and Mathematics Achievement: Number of Standard Deviations Below the Mean for Whites in the Metropolitan Northeast in Grades 6, 9 and 12[1]

Negro (Metropolitan Northeast)		Verbal Ability	Reading Comprehension	Mathematics Achievement
Grade	6	1.0	.8	1.1
Level	9	1.1	.9	1.0
	12	1.1	.8	1.1
Puerto Rican				
Grade	6	1.7	1.4	1.5
Level	9	1.3	1.2	1.2
	12	1.2	1.1	1.0

[1] Adapted from Coleman et al. (1966, pp. 274-275).

The data shown in Table 18 indicate that the relative differences in verbal achievement of Negroes and whites are constant from grade 1 through grade 12.[12] This difference of about one standard deviation indicates that about 85 percent of Negro students begin school with verbal ability scores below the average score for whites and this relative difference is maintained through grade 12. Puerto Ricans begin with an even greater relative difference with whites, with a tendency for this difference to decline very slightly by grade 12.

Although the relative differences between whites and Negroes shown in Table 18 remains roughly the same at different grade levels for the Metropolitan Northeast, other data appear to indicate that these differences grow larger with successive grades. Table 19 presents data from the Coleman et al. report, showing the discrepancies in Negro and Puerto Rican grade level achievement relative to the achievement of whites in the Metropolitan Northeast. These data exemplify the widely cited interpretation of Negro-white achievement differences as showing an increasing divergence with years in school. However, an examination of the relationship between grade equivalents and the corresponding standardized scores from the Coleman et al. report shows that this interpretation is inappropriate

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[12] Data for earlier grade levels also indicate a difference of approximately one SD in the achievement levels of whites and Negroes, metropolitan Northeast (cf. Coleman et al., 1966).

Table 19

Verbal Ability, Reading Comprehension and
Mathematics Achievement: Number of
Grade Levels Behind the Average for Whites
in the Metropolitan Northeast in Grades 6, 9 and 12[1]

Negro (Metropolitan Northeast)		Verbal Ability	Reading Comprehension	Mathematics Achievement
Grade Level	6	1.6	1.8	2.0
	9	2.4	2.6	2.8
	12	3.3	2.9	5.2
Change		(1.7)	(1.1)	(3.2)
Puerto Rican				
Grade Level	6	2.7	3.1	2.8
	9	2.9	3.3	3.4
	12	3.6	3.7	4.8
Change		(.9)	(.6)	(2.0)

[1] Adapted from Coleman et al. (1966, pp. 274-275).

for certain Negro-white comparisons.[13] For example, the test score averages for Northern Negroes in mathematics for grades 6, 9 and 12 (same test at each grade level) were 22.0, 36.0 and 39, respectively. The corresponding scores for Northern whites were 34.1, 49.0 and 57.6, reflecting average Negro-white differences of 12.1, 13.0 and 18.4 points (all figures slightly more than one SD). The increases in the Negro-white differences in scores were then .9 points between grades 6 and 9 and 5.4 points between grades 9 and 12. The corresponding grade equivalent differences are given as 2.0 years for grade 6, 2.8 years for grade 9 and 5.2 years for grade 12. (Coleman *et al*., 1966, p. 275). Obviously, the achievement differences between Negroes and whites are relatively constant from year to year, as shown previously in the Negro-white and Puerto Rican-white comparisons for the Northeast in Table 18.[14]

The approximately constant difference in the achievement of Negroes and whites across grade levels is not maintained when these groups are compared within geographical regions. Figure 7 depicts the Negro-white achievement differences within four geographical regions, based on the verbal ability test data from the Coleman *et al*. survey (Coleman, 1968, p. 20). The comparison of whites in the urban Northeast with those in the

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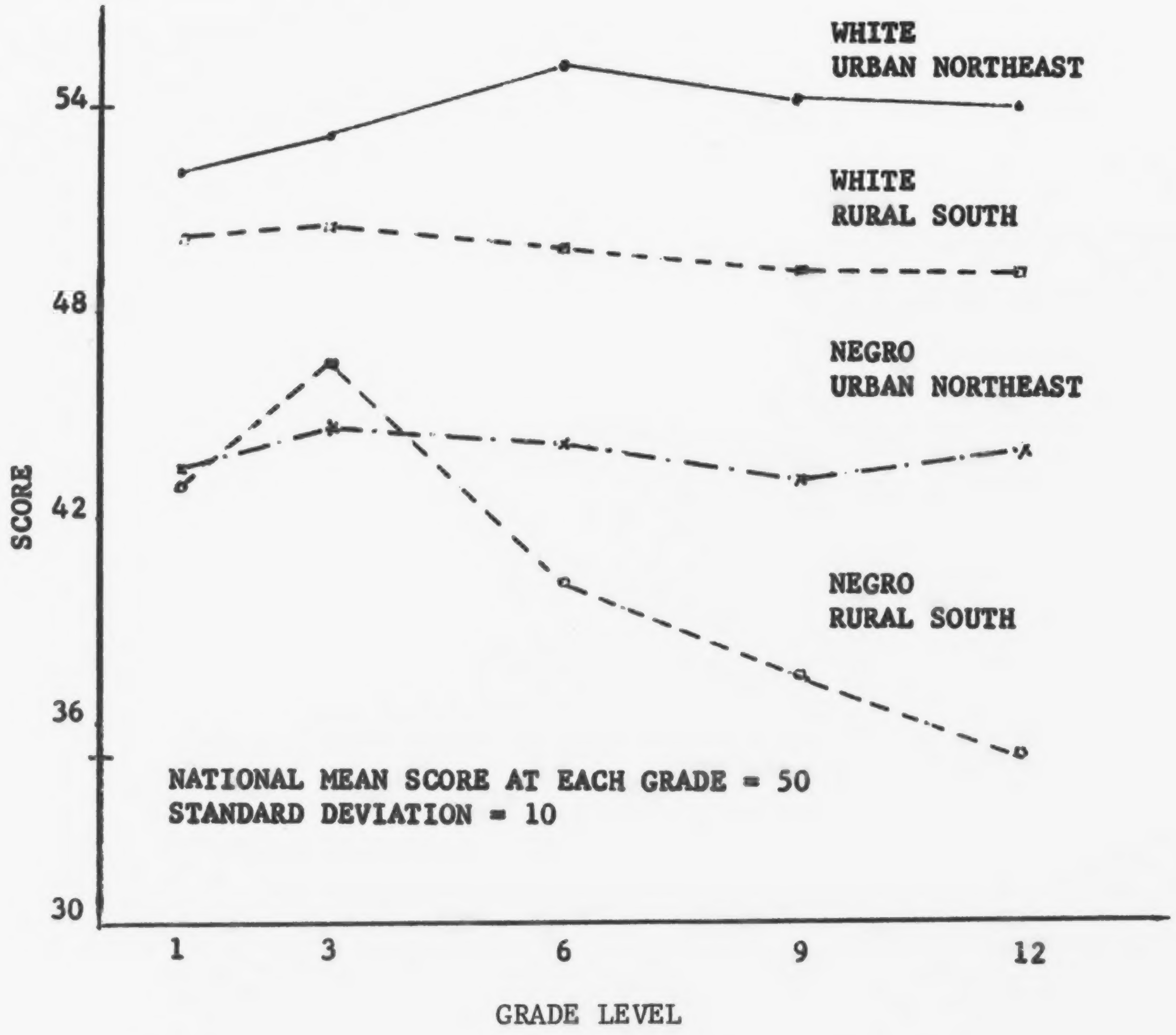
[13] From: *Supplemental Appendix to the Survey on Equality of Educational Opportunity*.

[14] Grade equivalents are based on norms and are somewhat analogous to mental age scores. For example, a grade equivalent of 3.0 is assigned to the achievement score of the average beginning third grader, and so on. The grade equivalents shown in Table 19 do not actually reflect greater differences in raw score means for the different ethnic groups with progressive grade levels. The disparity in the conclusions resulting from comparisons of differences among ethnic groups in standard deviation and grade equivalent units is a function of the fact that a standard deviation represents a smaller range of grade levels at lower grades than at higher ones. The differences, however, are more apparent than real due to the noninterval characteristics of the grade equivalent score, or in other words, the lack of correspondence between grade equivalent increments and raw score increments.

Figure 7

Achievement Levels in Verbal Skills
by Grade Levels, Race and Region



rural South shows the two groups beginning close together at first grade and then diverging over the years of school. The urban Negroes in the Northeast, compared to whites in the urban Northeast, begin further apart than the previous comparison and remain about the same distance apart, demonstrating again the constant grade by grade differences between Negroes and whites in the Northeast. The most dramatic comparison, however, is that of whites and Negroes in the urban Northeast with Negroes in the rural South. Here the Negroes in the rural South and urban North begin first grade at about the same point below urban whites in the Northeast. Thereafter, the Negro in the rural South increasingly diverges from both groups, ending up approximately two standard deviations below the average for whites in the urban Northeast at grade 12.

The regional comparisons shown in Figure 7 are among the more dramatic illustrations of the results of cultural and educational deprivation on certain ethnic minorities. The full effect on Southern rural Negroes is rather staggering--placing nearly all such students below the average verbal ability score for whites in the urban Northeast. As will be shown in later sections of this report, it is likely that the Negro-white differences in educational development depicted in Figure 7 are largely a function of the social environment as reflected in family background experiences and the social class environment of the school, both of which are decidedly more negative for the typical Negro student.

Language Development

Recent research in this area has begun to illuminate some important social class differences. Irwin (1948) reported differences between infants from professional and white collar families compared to infants of laboring class parents in the number of sounds used and the frequency of sound usage. However, the differences were statistically significant only after the infants were eighteen months of age.

John (1963) compared first grade and fifth grade Negro children selected from three socioeconomic groups, a lower-lower-class group, an upper-lower-class group and a middle-class group, on performance on measures of receptive and expressive labeling. Social class differences were not found among first grade children, but middle-class fifth grade children achieved significantly higher scores on "integrative" tasks than lower-class fifth grade children. John concluded that acquisition of abstract and integrative language was hampered by the living conditions in the homes of lower-class children.

Bernstein (1964), an English sociologist, propounded an important new theory of social class language variation, relevant to explaining the developing cognitive differences among the social classes. He posited two major contrasting types of communication codes, termed restricted and elaborated. Restricted codes are employed in closed communication networks where the communication is primarily support-providing such as in families, close friendship groups and English working class communities. Elaborated codes, on the other hand, are used when specific information or meaning must be conveyed, as in giving directions to a stranger. Elaborated codes are more complex, less redundant and use richer optional qualifications than restricted codes which are described as syntactically redundant, elliptical, narrative, concrete and richer in vocal expressive features.

Restricted codes, or public language, were found to characterize the language of the lower socioeconomic classes, while elaborated codes, or formal language, characterized the language of the middle and higher socioeconomic classes. Bernstein apparently observed these class differences in language in children as young as five years of age, and reported that with increasing age the differences increased.

Hess and Shipman (1965) conducted a series of investigations into the communications between Negro mothers and their four-year-old children based on derivations from Bernstein's theory. The mothers were divided into four different social class levels: (1) college education, professional, executive and managerial occupational level; (2) skilled blue collar occupations; (3) unskilled or semiskilled occupations with elementary school education; (4) unskilled or semiskilled occupations with father absent or families supported by public assistance. The mothers were asked to teach three tasks to their children: to sort a group of plastic toys by color and function, to sort blocks by two characteristics simultaneously and to copy five designs on an "Etch A Sketch."

According to the authors, one of the most striking and obvious differences between the environments provided by the mothers was in language usage. Mothers from the middle-class gave protocols that were consistently longer in language productivity than mothers from the other three groups. When the quality of the language used by the mothers was assessed, it was found that middle-class mothers used more abstract words and more complex syntactic structure than did the mothers of the other groups. When the mothers were asked for responses to questions concerning what they would do in dealing with hypothetical situations at school, upper-class mothers used a greater proportion of person oriented statements while those of lower-status tended to use more status oriented statements. The classificatory behavior of the mothers in the different social classes also differentiated the groups. The middle-class group was higher on descriptive and categorical types, and the low-status groups employed more simple relational classifications. According to the authors, these latter responses were usually given with shorter response times, indicating less reflection and evaluation of alternative hypotheses, and were often subjective rather than objective and abstract. Children from middle-class homes performed the sorting tasks much better than did children from lower-class homes particularly in offering verbal explanations as the basis for their sorts.

Hess and Shipman thus concluded that gross differences were present in the verbal and cognitive environments offered by the parents of differing social class levels. Further description indicated that one of the educationally undesirable features in the interactions of the working class mothers and their children was a tendency to act without taking sufficient time for reflection and planning, a type of activity in which a particular act seems to be unrelated to the act that preceded it or to its consequences, so that the behavior lacks meaning. The authors describe some of the possible effects of this type of mother-child interaction as follows:

> ...behavior is controlled by status rules rather than by attention to the individual characteristics of a specific situation and one in which behavior is not mediated by verbal cues or by teaching that relates events to one another and the present to the future. This environment produces a child who relates to authority rather than to rationale, who, although often compliant, is not reflective in his behavior, and for whom the consequences of an act are largely considered in terms of immediate punishment or reward rather than future effects and long-range goals (p. 885).

Strodtbeck (1965) discussed several factors affecting language development among the dependent poor in the great cities. Comments elicited from Negro mothers receiving "Aid to Dependent Children" indicated that the dependent, lower-class family could be characterized by: (1) fear of neighbors, (2) lack of social contacts because of fear, (3) frequent absence of the father, (4) lack of organization of the roles of the family members and (5) disciplinary practices that seem to be based on a definition of good behavior that emphasizes physical inaction, verbal nonparticipation and a state of being nonobservant. These factors appear to preclude establishment of protracted verbal exploration of action possibilities on the part of the family members, and hence, the family's language is mostly characterized by restricted codes rather than elaborated codes.

Loban (1965) reported a study of the verbal learning of children over a 12-year period. He found that social class was closely related to language development and that this relationship caused problems for the lower-class child when he was confronted with the demands of the middle class society. Loban concluded:

> It...seems entirely possible that subjects from the least favored socioeconomic categories can find themselves at a disadvantage in schools where the verbal linguistic skills of the middle class prevail. Such subjects may find themselves increasingly ill at ease and self-conscious to the point of avoiding oral performance. Such avoidance could, in turn, progressively affect performance in the related activities of reading and writing...(p. 128).

The lower-class subjects included in Loban's study exhibited a rigidity of syntax, a limited and restricted use of structured possibilities for sentence organization and a form of relatively condensed speech in which certain meanings were restricted and the possibility of their elaboration was reduced.

In Great Britain, Jahoda (1964) selected primary and secondary school boys from working-class or middle-class homes. Matched pairs were formed at each age level, social class level and non verbal intelligence level. At both age levels, the vocabulary scores of the working-class children were significantly lower than the scores of the middle-class children. Further, the proportional differences between the 14 year olds was greater than that for the 10 year olds.

The results of the research on language development generally indicate that the lower-class disadvantaged child's language may be somewhat simpler in syntax relatively lacking in vocabulary and may employ fewer descriptive terms and modifiers than the language of the middle-class child. These and other differences apparently accrue from the gross lack of verbal communication in the lower-class home, as well as the nature of the communication. Lower-class communication patterns tend to emphasize commands, short sentences, and a heavier reliance on gestural responses (Deutsch, 1966). Although the exact functions of language in the development of complex thought are not yet clear, it does seem evident that language development plays an important role in certain kinds of problem solving and concept learning (Jensen, 1966), learning to read (Ervin-Tripp, 1966), and performance on tests of achievement and ability (Deutsch, 1966).

Special Abilities

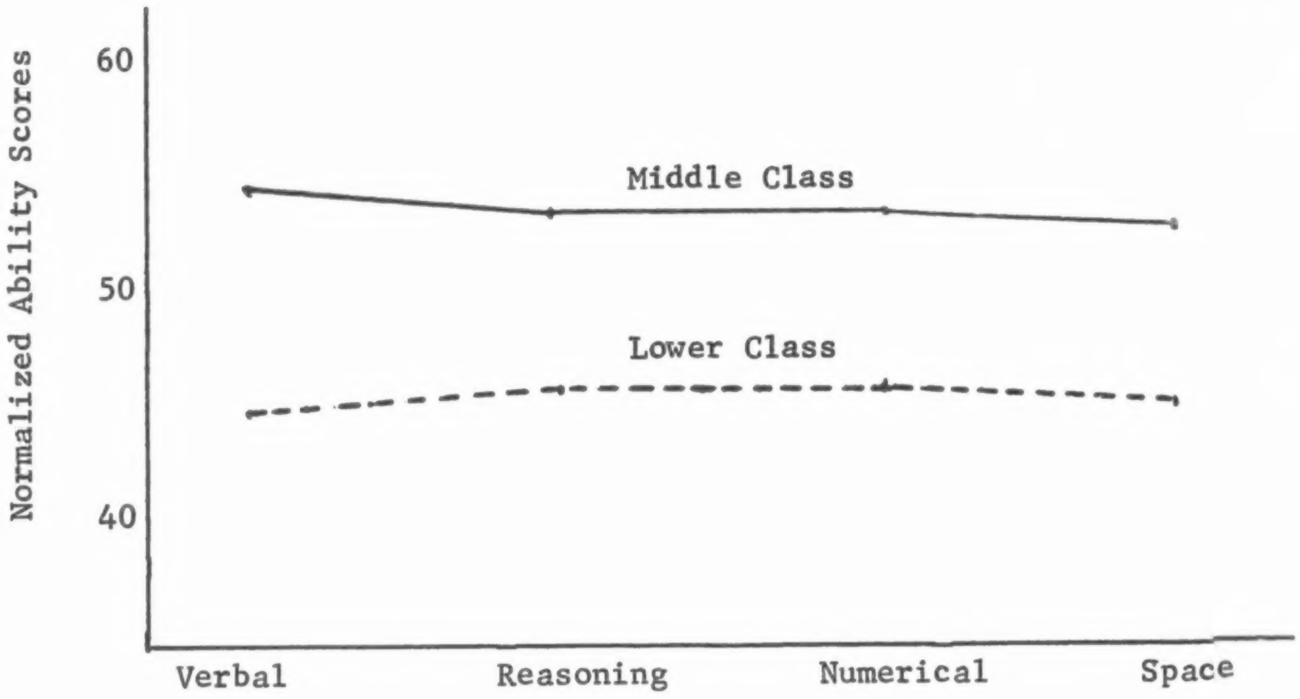
Guilford's (1967) summary tends to show that the relationship of special test scores, such as clerical aptitude and the Thurstone Primary Mental Abilities tests, with occupational status is similar to that found in studies relating social class indexes to the more general ability factor measured by traditional intelligence tests. Dreger and Miller (1968) in a review of psychological studies of Negroes and whites cite evidence of social class differences on tests of creativity, with upper status students scoring significantly higher on tests of originality and fluency.

Lesser, Fifer and Clark (1965) measured verbal ability, reasoning, numerical ability and space conceptualization in 400 young children grouped according to social class and ethnic group membership--Negro, Puerto Rican, Chinese and Jewish. Significant social class differences were found as shown in Figure 8 (Lesser *et al*., 1965, p. 63). Note that there was no tendency for social class level to be associated with differential patterning of the four abilities measured in this study.

The most important results of the Lesser *et al*. study were the findings of significant interactions between ethnicity and type of ability.

FIGURE 8

Mental Ability Scores for Two Social Class Groups: Ethnic Groups Combined



Specifically, ethnic differences resulted in significant differences in both the patterning and absolute level of each ethnic group. Absolute levels on the abilities were significantly affected by social class within each ethnic group, but the ethnic patterns of ability levels remained essentially the same between social class levels. The ability patterns are as illustrated in Figure 9 (Lesser _et al._, 1965, p. 64).

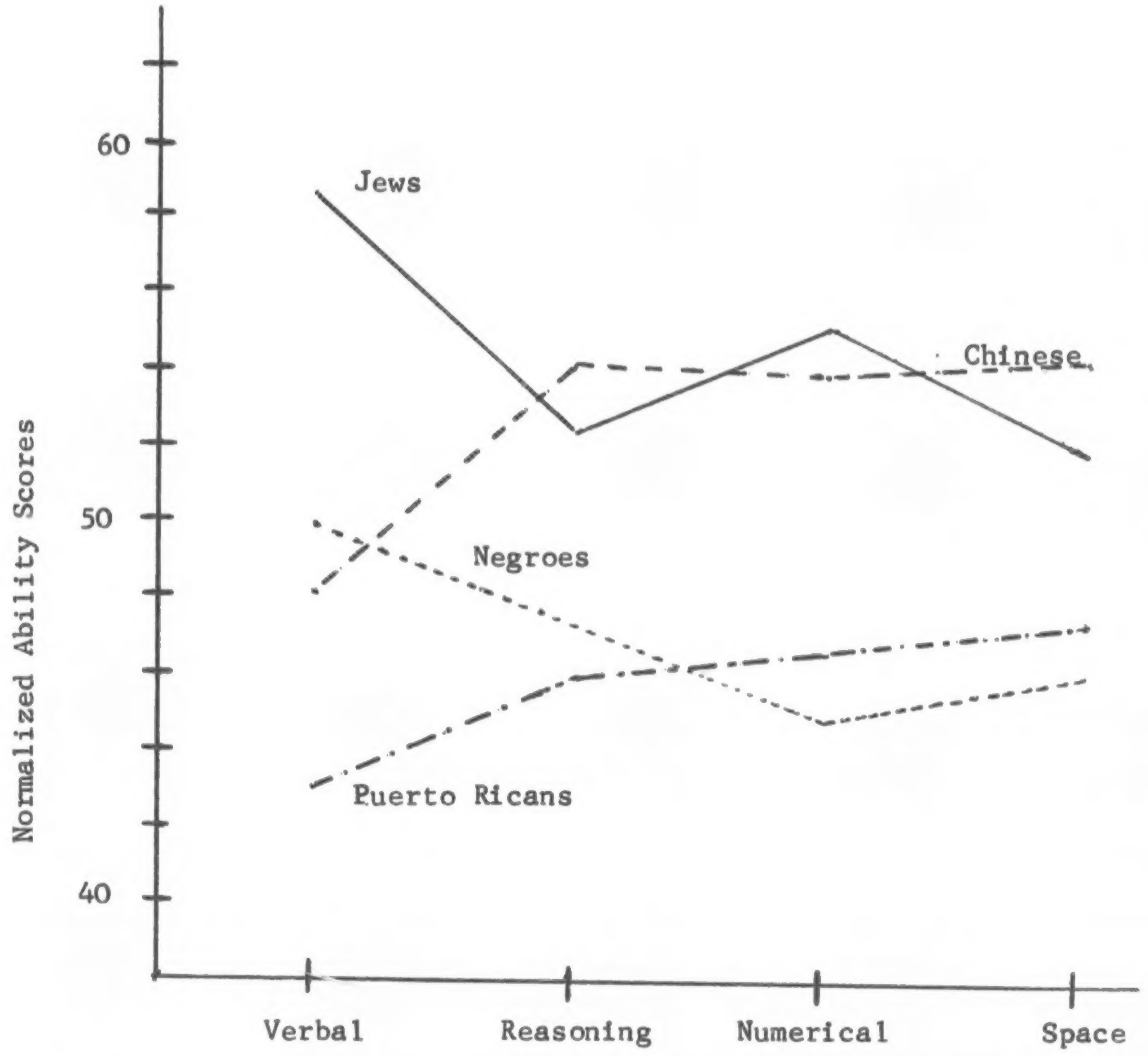
Differences in ability scores illustrated in Figure 9 are summmarized as follows:

> ...(a) On verbal ability, Jewish children ranked first (being significantly better than all other ethnic groups), Negroes ranked second and Chinese third (both being significantly better than Puerto Ricans), and Puerto Ricans fourth. (b) On reasoning, the Chinese ranked first and Jews second (both being significantly better than Negroes and Puerto Ricans), Negroes third and Puerto Ricans fourth, (c) On numerical ability, Jews ranked first and Chinese second (both being significantly better than Puerto Ricans

> and Negroes), Puerto Ricans third and Negroes fourth. (d) On space, Chinese ranked first (being significantly better than Puerto Ricans and Negroes), Jews second, Puerto Ricans third, and Negroes fourth (Lesser *et al*., 1965, p. 82).[15]

FIGURE 9

Mental Ability Patterns by Ethnic Group



Additional findings of the Lesser *et al*. study indicated two significant interactions of social class and ethnicity on mental ability levels but not on patterns. One of these indicated that the social class factor produced more of a difference in ability scores for Negroes than for the other ethnic groups. The second interaction indicated that the mental ability scores of the four ethnic groups were more alike within the middle-class group than in the lower-class group. Based on their overall findings, Lesser _et al_. concluded:

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[15] The ethnic-ability patterns discovered by Lesser *et al*. (1965) were duplicated in another smaller sample of Negro and Chinese children (Fort, Watts and Lesser, 1969).

> These findings allow a reassessment of the various proposed explanations of cultural influences upon intellectual performance. The importance of the mediators associated with ethnicity is to provide differential impacts upon the development of mental abilities, while the importance of the mediators associated with social class is to provide pervasive (and not differential) effects upon the various mental abilities (p. 83).

The results presented by Lesser _et al_. are inconsistent with the widely held notion that, if certain disadvantaged ethnic groups could be equated on a number of social class linked background variables, then differences in intellectual performance would virtually vanish. Clearly there may be more to it than that. The evidence now available suggests that ethnic membership may be as salient as social class (or more so) in determining the level and organization of children's mental abilities.

Direct evidence of either the cultural or hereditary factors which may be responsible for this patterning of abilities by ethnic group is not yet available (Jensen, 1968). Indirectly, however, there does seem to be reason to believe that such patterning is at least in part due to cultural factors. It seems likely that the Puerto Rican group would be subject to the greatest amount of interference in language development as a function of a bilingual family background as well as social and economic disadvantagement (Lesser _et al_., 1965; Coleman _et al_., 1966; Guilford, 1967), and this is consistent with the fact that this group obtained the lowest mean score in the verbal area. The Negro group, on the other hand, must contend with social and economic disadvantagement, some of which may be peculiar to the Negro family (Dreger and Miller, 1968), but there appears to be little disadvantagement resulting directly from Negro dialects (Hall and Mery, 1969). Preliminary observations by Fort _et al_. (1969) point to other cultural factors such as an emphasis on spatial activities and a corresponding relative neglect of highly verbal activities in the Chinese family, extensive emphasis on verbal activities and occupations among the Jews, and a relatively greater emphasis on verbal activities as contrasted with reasoning, numerical, and spatial skills in the Negro family.

In concluding this section on special abilities, it is of some significance to note that the results of the Lesser _et al_. research indicate that the Negro child is considerably more subject to the effects of social class differences than the other ethnic groups studied, and social class exerts a more powerful influence for the Puerto Ricans than for the Chinese. In attempting to explain this result, Lesser _et al_. offer two factors as an explanation:

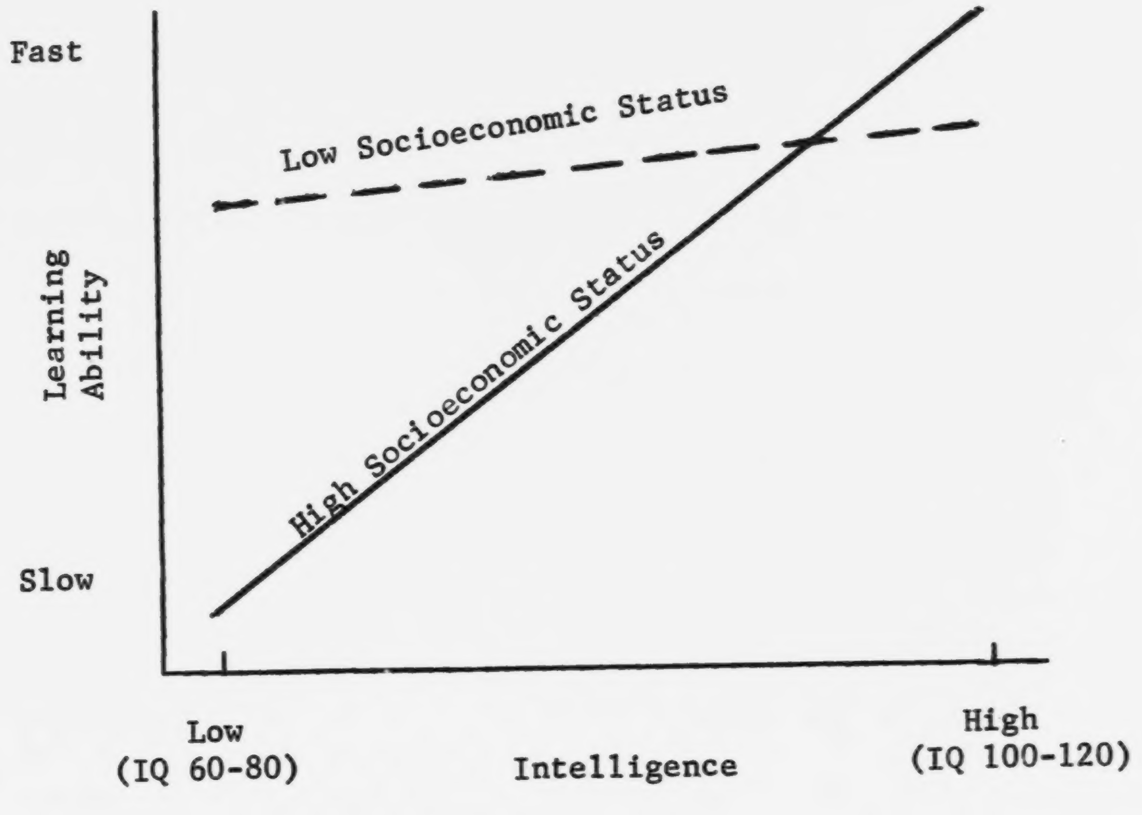
> First, the lower-class Negro group is more deprived in terms of...family stability. Second, the lower-class Negro is a member of a more isolated lower-class culture in which fewer models are available for educational aspirations. The lower-class Negro child is likely to lack contact not only with the cultural majority but with the middle-class Negro group as well. In contrast, the Chinese child comes from a more stable family unit...is a member of a more unified cultural group in which value is placed on education, and suffers less from isolation from middle-class models of his own ethnic origin. Thus the disparity in the status of a middle- and lower-class child in relation to the cultural majority is perhaps much greater for Negroes than for Chinese (1965, p. 75).

Basic Learning Abilities

Research on basic learning abilities by Jensen (1968a) has begun to illuminate some fundamental processes underlying the ability to learn in different social class and ethnic groups. Using tests which are largely independent of verbal mediational processes and specific transfer from previous learning, and are thus largely independent of the cultural bias of traditional intelligence and achievement tests, Jensen analyzed the performance of children by social class and ethnic group. A summary of the results relating basic learning ability to intelligence test scores for different social class groups is presented in Figure 10 (Jensen, 1968a, p. 34). These results show that basic learning abilities are essentially unrelated to IQ scores in the low socioeconomic group, but the relationship for the high socioeconomic group is substantial. This differential relationship by social class level indicates that the learning ability measures and the IQ test tend to measure the same function in the higher groups, whereas for the lower-class groups IQ tests are a poor index of learning

FIGURE 10

Summary Graph of Studies Showing Relationship
Between Learning Ability (Free Recall, Serial and Paired-
Associate Learning) and IQ as a Function of Socioeconomic Status



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ability. The most important result reported, however, was the finding that lower-class children with low IQs showed a wide range of learning ability scores, whereas the middle-class children with low IQs were invariably slow learners.

In further findings reported by Jensen (1968a), a paired associate learning test consisting of pictures of common objects was given to large numbers of children from Head Start and to lower- and middle-class children in kindergarten through sixth grade. The lower-class group consisted of more than 90 percent Negroes. The results of this study paralleled Jensen's earlier findings: lower- and middle-class children differed only slightly on the learning ability tasks, despite an average difference of 15 to 20 points in IQ scores and even greater differences in school performance. In an additional comparison, Head Start children with an average Stanford-Binet mental age of 4½ were compared with retarded adults with an average Stanford-Binet mental age of 10 on the same learning task. The results showed that the retarded adults were significantly slower learners than the Head Start children.

Interpreting these findings, Jensen explained (1968a, pp. 36,37):

> Basic learning abilities are measured by laboratory learning sets which involve little transfer from previous learning. Serial rote learning is a good example. A variety of short-term memory tests, including digit span, may prove to be the best means of measuring these basic abilities. Intelligence as measured by standard IQ tests consists of a reservoir of transferable knowledge and cognitive skills, most of which, I presume, have had to be acquired. The rate of acquisition is a function of the basic learning abilities and the opportunities afforded by the environment. In a good environment /middle-class/ we should therefore expect to find a very high correlation between learning ability and intelligence. Educability is the ability to learn school subjects by means of classroom instruction....Raw learning ability is not directly converted to educability but serves educability through the agency of intelligence. To profit from ordinary classroom instruction, the learner must bring many developed skills

> to the situation: the voluntary control of attention, the perception of order, self initiated rehearsal of newly acquired behavior, self reinforcement for successful performance, autonomous symbolic mediation, and a host of other processes...In short, the learner himself must be able to act on the instructional input in order to master it. An intelligence test score is one indication of the degree to which a child has the equipment to act so as to be educable by ordinary means.
>
> It seems that it is in the lack of these cognitive skills tapped by intelligence tests and required for educability, rather than in basic learning abilities, that culturally disadvantaged children differ from typical middle-class children.

Jensen's results have been to some extent paralleled by the investigations of Cattell (1968) in the realm of crystallized and fluid intelligence measures. The latter tests are essentially non-verbal measures such as associative memory, figural relations and intellectual speed, and are presumed to be a more direct measure of native intellectual endowment. Crystallized intelligence is that which is measured by traditional intelligence tests and evidences the extent to which the individual has acquired culturally relevant knowledge and skills. Cattell has shown that his tests of fluid ability do not differentiate among comparable samples from Britain, Germany, France and Italy, and that there is only a slight correlation between fluid ability scores and social status. Measures of crystallized ability on the other hand, tend to show a higher degree of relationship with social status, comparable to the degree of relationship found between social status and other traditional measures of intelligence.

A partial explanation for the occurrence of large social class differences in IQ and school achievement has been the failure to recognize the basic learning abilities measured in the tests used by Jensen and Cattell, and a corresponding failure of the school in adapting instructional procedures to capitalize on social class differences in ability patterns. If the schools continue to heavily emphasize cognitive (conceptual) approaches to learning, it seems probable that social class differences will continue to be evident and may even widen.

Other Social Class and Ethnically Linked Differences

Other social class and ethnically linked differences relevant to effective learning in the school include such personality variables as anxiety and achievement motivation, physical health and educationally relevant attitudes, values and aspirations. Certain limitations prevented more than a cursory, and to some extent unbalanced review on these and other factors. Such as it is, the review emphasizes most heavily the relevant motivational factors associated with social class, ethnicity and intellectual growth or achievement.

Physical Health

Both Scrimshaw (1968) and Krech (1968) report that malnutrition, specifically the serious protein deficiency known as kwashiorkor, may have a direct and irreversible effect on brain development, resulting in permanent mental deficiency. Less is known of the effects of milder degrees of malnourishment on mental development, the occurrence of which is more common in the lower social strata of the United States. At the very least, moderate degrees of malnourishment should affect the child's ability to attend effectively in the instructional situation.

The results of studies on prematurity (Dreger and Miller, 1968) show that there is a 50 percent greater risk for Negro infants, and a somewhat lesser risk of prematurity in lower-class whites compared with middle- and upper-class whites. Nutritional factors seem to be implicated, and the results of prematurity include marked neurological abnormalities among both whites and Negro infants. Comparisons of premature and full-term infants on Gessell's schedules indicate significant differences in developmental levels, favoring the full term infants.

Anxiety

Since much is known about the relationships of anxiety to achievement or intellectual development, it is appropriate to first present a review of some of the basic factors present in the anxiety-intellectual performance relationship. More detailed treatment of this factor seems to be relevant since anxiety is a key element in psychological theory and seems to be more consistently and strongly related to school achievement and intellectual development than other nonintellective characteristics (Ruebush, 1963; O'Reilly, 1969). Furthermore, anxiety is linked with social class (Ruebush, 1963) and ethnicity (Phillips, 1966), and it appears that there is reason to believe that anxiety plays a more detrimental role in the achievement of socially and economically disadvantaged groups than in more advantaged segments of society.

Anxiety and Achievement--There is an extensive amount of research indicating a negative relationship between questionnaire and other indexes of anxiety and intelligence and achievement test scores. Relatively recent reviews indicate that the negative relationship between anxiety and achievement test or intelligence test performance exists at all elementary grade levels (S.B. Sarason *et al*., 1960; Ruebush, 1963) and at the high school and college levels (I. G. Sarason, 1960; O'Reilly, 1966). There are a few exceptions to this general trend (Kerrick, 1956; Ruebush, 1963; Wirt and Broen, 1956), and the extent of the negative relationship varies from study to study (Ruebush, 1963; O'Reilly, 1966). Recent longitudinal studies (Sarason, Hill and Zimbardo, 1964; Hill and Sarason, 1966) showed that the negative relationship between anxiety and achievement test performance increased over the school years, was highest with test scores involving verbal skills and was unexpectedly high when achievement levels were examined for students with very high test anxiety and defensiveness scores (achievement differences between high and low anxious students were as high as two to three years in grade equivalent reading scores). Although school or instructional variables have not been directly investigated in the work of Sarason et al. (1960), Sarason et al. (1964) and Hill and Sarason (1966), conclusions made on the basis of informal observation, correlational patterns by grade level and theorizing, have led to tentative identification of some of the major dimensions which may increase anxiety in the learning setting and thus affect the child's achievement and intellectual growth. Also, a number of experimental studies exist which tend to support the dimensional analysis of Hill and Sarason, and at the same time, suggest certain types of research concerning interactions of anxiety and learning task variables on school achievement.

Anxiety and the Learning Task--The hypothetical and empirical relationships among anxiety, learning task variables and intellectual performance are somewhat illuminated by considerations of other personality characteristics and behaviors of the school anxious child. According to Sarason et al. (1960), the school anxious child possesses major unresolved dependency needs which require that he maintain a reasonable level of positive rapport with significant adults, notably his teacher. Such a child is presumed to be especially threatened by negative reinforcement for personal inadequacies and by external pressure to perform in school learning tasks without substantial emotional and cognitive support. These notions of the dependency needs of the school anxious child have been supported by informal classroom observation (Sarason et al., 1960), clinical reports (Hill and Sarason, 1966) and in objective research (Ruebush, 1963).

The school learning dimensions linked to elicitation of anxiety in children by Sarason et al. (1960) and Hill and Sarason (1966) include the social-emotional elements involved in the student-teacher relationship and the presence of learning discontinuities in the organizational and curricular structure of the elementary school. Learning discontinuities more specifically refer to "natural" variations in task difficulty resulting in part from discrepancies between the student's abilities and the requirements of school learning tasks which are ordinarily presented on schedule without careful attention to the readiness factor. There is some suggestive evidence to indicate that the difficulty of school learning tasks tend toward "moderate," particularly where ability grouping is in effect (Atkinson, 1965). Procedures used in the construction of standardized achievement tests and the well constructed teacher-made tests also tend to result in mean item difficulties around 50 percent (moderate difficulty). These definitions of task difficulty are interpretable relative to abilities, and the latter are thus important considerations in studies and experiments on anxiety and task difficulty. Other, perhaps more objective definitions of task difficulty may include some elements of the test-like character of school tasks and tests proposed by Sarason et al. (1960) and the cognitive and/or conceptual level requirements of different types of intellectual tasks. Again, it would appear that the latter elements of task difficulty are interpretable in relation to ability variables as well as anxiety.

Experimental analogues of elements of the interpersonal dimension discussed by Hill and Sarason have been investigated in a number of researches reviewed by I. G. Sarason (1960). Some major generalizations based on this review were: (a) high anxious subjects were more affected in their intellectual performance by motivating conditions or failure reports than low anxious subjects; (b) high anxious subjects did not differ from low anxious subjects in their intellectual task performance under experimentally manipulated neutral or nonthreatening conditions and (c) high anxious subjects were found to more self deprecating, more self preoccupied, less content with themselves and more responsive to reassurance than low anxious subjects in experimental situations. More recent research (Winkel and Sarason, 1964; Diamond, 1965; Meisels, 1967) and reviews (Eysenck, 1964; Costello, 1964) consistently support the generalization that relatively mild threat and evaluative statements in the academic and test situations serve to elicit anxiety and effect a decrement in intellectual performance.

A number of studies have been reported by S. B. Sarason _et al_. (1960) which were directed chiefly at determining the relationship of Test Anxiety scores to performance on different types of tests or tasks. The experimental tasks used in these investigations were judged to differ in test-like character. Tasks which approximated the least test-like end of the dimension were defined by such characteristics as: (a) the game-like nature of the task; (b) the presence of a supportive individual in the test situation to whom the testee may turn for help; and (c) the lack of verbal and mathematical components in the test itself. The more test-like end of the dimension is defined by such characteristics as: (a) the use of stated time limits for completion of the task; (b) the presence of verbal and mathematical components in the task such as are found in standardized intelligence and achievement tests; and (c) the presence of an authoritative individual in the testing situation who may be perceived by the testee as serving primarily an evaluative function. An additional and important characteristic in the test-like direction is one which might be grossly labeled ambiguity. Ambiguity may be defined as a lack of explicit structure in the task. For example, the open-ended responses required in the unstructured Rorschach testing situation would be expected to elicit anxiety and thus affect the quality of the responses made by the anxious testee. Based on this analysis of the test-like character of different tasks, Test Anxiety scores for different samples of children were related to performance on several tests or tasks judged to differ on one or more of the defining characteristics of the test-like dimension described above.

A study of Zwiebelson (1956) is cited in which scores on two tasks, one more test-like than the other, were correlated with children's scores on the Test Anxiety Scale. As predicted, the correlations between Test Anxiety scores and scores on the more test-like task were negative and significantly larger than those obtained with the less test-like task. Another study by Lighthall, Ruebush, Sarason and Zwiebelson (1959) indicated that high test anxious children gained significantly more over time on a less test-like task (Davis-Eels Games) than low test anxious children. Other findings in this series of studies included: (a) a tendency for high anxious children to be more illogical or irrational was obtained from responses to Rorschach cards; (b) in a figure drawing test, subjects scoring high on anxiety drew figures which were more rigid, unsmiling, and in general, lacking in spontaneity; (c) high anxious children were significantly more cautious on an embedded figures test; and (d) high anxious children made significantly more errors on a color naming task.

Related to the work of Sarason et al. (1960) on the test-like nature of intellectual tasks are the studies of anxiety and problem solving reviewed by Ruebush (1963). The findings of 21 studies reviewed were consistent with those on anxiety and achievement test performance. In general, the research shows that anxiety tends to impair children's performance on verbal and nonverbal problem solving and learning tasks. Some of the tasks used on these researches included jig-saw puzzles (Smock, 1957), the Witkin Ability Scale (Granick, 1955) and tasks involving word completion and artificial language (Waite, 1942). There is some suggestion that high anxious and low anxious subjects do not differ significantly in their performance on learning and problem solving tasks involving relatively simple cognitive processes such as learning paired-associates (Sarason *et al.*, 1960) and simple discriminations (Stevenson and Odom, 1965), but do differ significantly when performance involves more complex cognitive process such as concept formation (Stevenson and Odom, 1965) and reading comprehension as opposed to vocabulary growth (Neville, Pfost and Dobbs, 1967).

A further notion of the task difficulty dimension in anxiety research is provided in studies by Gifford (1964) and Grimes and Allinsmith (1961). In the Grimes and Allinsmith study, task difficulty in the school learning task was defined in terms of a complex concept termed *structure*. Structured learning involves certainty in meaning, definiteness of form, sequential introduction of the elements of the learning material so that new learning is based on prior learning of fundamental facts, skills and principles, and the provision of carefully defined rules for proceding in the learning task. In a similar analysis of the relationship of anxiety and learning task dimensions, Gifford (1964) emphasized the relevance of appropriate practice in related tasks prior to performance on unfamiliar and more difficult tasks.

In their research, Grimes and Allinsmith assumed that the *phonics* and *look-say* approaches to reading instruction contained relatively disparate emphases on the dimension of structure. For example, the phonics or structured method is characterized by a gradual sequential development of word attack skills (e.g., sound-letter associations, rules for syllabication) taught through much drill and practice until the child begins to utilize the skills automatically in reading. Eventually, when the skills are thoroughly learned, the teaching of rules and skills is subverted to the more complex functions of comprehension and practice in reading. In the look-say or unstructured method, the teaching of word attack skills and rules is incidental to the actual process of reading which begins with the recognition and memorization of whole words. Generally, word attack skills taught with this method emphasize procedures such as making trial responses to unfamiliar words and making intelligent guesses based on contextual clues. From this analysis, it was predicted that children high on anxiety and compulsivity would achieve at a higher level under structured methods of teaching reading than similar children under unstructured methods of teaching reading.

The sample for this study was composed of third grade boys and girls from two groups of schools, one of which emphasized phonics in reading instruction, while the other group emphasized the look-say method. Subjects were grouped on high, low and medium compulsivity; high, low and medium anxiety; and combinations of levels of anxiety and compulsivity for the structured and unstructured schools. The dependent variable was the discrepancy between predicted and attained achievement (with IQ as a predictor or control variable) on a standardized test measuring both reading and arithmetic skills. In addition to the control for IQ, an attempt was made to separate structure in the reading task from the possible effects of the social-emotional relationship between student and teacher on anxiety and achievement test performance. Observers judged teachers in the structured schools to be more impersonal and demanding or relatively low on warmth and support as compared to teachers in the unstructured schools.

The results indicated an interaction of anxiety and structured-unstructured teaching methods on achievement. High anxious children achieved at a significantly higher level in the structured schools than the similarly constituted group in the unstructured schools. Within schools, no significant effect for anxiety on achievement was obtained in structured schools, but in unstructured schools, this effect was significant and in the predicted direction. The results also showed that anxiety and compulsivity tended to combine to produce a further positive effect on achievement in the structured schools.

Further support for the hypothesis that anxiety may not interfere with performance in intellectual tasks under special conditions was obtained in studies by Gifford (1964) and Hill and Sarason (1966). Gifford gave anxious and nonanxious fourth grade boys practice and no practice on a reading pretest and then administered a reading posttest which contained reading material which differed from that in the pretest, but was structured in the same way. Anxious subjects performed at a significantly lower reading speed than nonanxious subjects on the posttest under the no practice condition, but there was no effect for anxiety under the practice condition.

In the Hill-Sarason research, it was noted that instruction tended to be discontinuous in the degree of structure present in teaching reading at the primary and intermediate grade levels of the elementary school. It was also noted that the teacher-student relationship involved less reassurance and assumed a heavier emphasis on evaluation beginning approximately at the third and fourth grades. The results of this research were consistent with the observations indicating instructural and interpersonal discontinuities in the reading task. The absolute values of the negative correlations between reading achievement and anxiety on the same students were very low and nonsignificant at the second grade level, but increased gradually from the third grade on. At the fifth grade level, the correlation was approximately -.50 for a subsample of boys.

Anxiety, Other Intrapersonal Variables and Intellectual Performance--There is growing evidence that the effects of anxiety on achievement and other forms of intellectual performance are partly dependent on ability and other intrapersonal variables. The Grimes and Allinsmith study suggested that achievement was further facilitated in the structured schools if the child was both anxious and compulsive. The research of Hill and Sarason (1966) showed that the predictive validity of anxiety scores was enhanced if children's defensiveness scores were taken into account. A number of studies, reviewed below, suggest that intellectual abilities may be important determinants of the interfering effects of anxiety on achievement and performance on other intellectual tasks.

S. B. Sarason et al. (1960) in their extensive research on children's anxiety concluded that the bulk of the cases contributing to the negative relationship between anxiety and intelligence fell within the average range of scores on IQ tests (90-110). A similar conclusion was made in the longitudinal study of Hill and Sarason (1966). Feldhusen and Klausmeier (1962) have clarified this relationship further in a study specifically designed to investigate the relationship between IQ and achievement and anxiety scores. In this study, 40 children with IQs of 56 to 81, 40 children with IQs of 90 to 110 and 40 children with IQs of 120 to 146 were used in an analysis of the relationships among anxiety scores, IQ and standardized achievement test scores. Manifest anxiety scores reported for the high, average and low IQ groups were respectively: 12.0, 14.8 and 20.2. Differences between the average and low, and high and low anxiety groups were significant. Correlations between anxiety scores and achievement by IQ levels showed that for subjects in the intermediate IQ range (90-110), three of four correlations between anxiety and achievement were significant and negative. For the low group, only one of the correlations reached significance. The same comparisons for the highest IQ group were nonsignificant.

A few studies with college students lend further support to the results with children which suggest an interaction of anxiety and ability on academic performance. Denny (1962) hypothesized an interaction between IQ and anxiety on college students' performance with a complex concept formation task. Fifty-six males were used in an analysis of combinations of anxiety (high-low) and intelligence (high-low). The results indicated that high anxiety facilitated the performance of high IQ subjects, but impaired the performance of low IQ subjects. In a smaller study, Speilberger (1962) found: (a) that college students of low IQ earned poor grades, irrespective of anxiety scores; (b) that high anxious students in the mid-range of abilities obtained lower grades and had a higher percentage of academic failure than low anxious students; and (c) that the performance of students superior in ability was apparently facilitated by anxiety.

Based on the studies reviewed here and elsewhere (I. G. Sarason, 1960; Ruebush, 1963; Hill and Sarason, 1966), it appears that anxiety relates negatively to indexes of school achievement as well as to a variety of other indexes of intellectual performance. Recent evidence (Sarason et al., 1960; Hill and Sarason, 1966; Phillips, 1966) supports the contention that anxiety has debilitating effects on intellectual performance, but that the extent of this decrement seems to be a function of abilities of the subject as well as other intrapersonal variables and conditions present in the learning or testing task.

The learning task conditions under which anxious students may perform as well or perhaps even better than nonanxious students include a warm, supportive teacher-student or administrator-testee relationship as opposed to an evaluative or achievement motivating atmosphere; and a nonambiguous or highly structured learning task in which task difficulty is made relatively low as a function of insuring that positive transfer occurs at various steps in the learning task as well as utilizing other well known principles of learning. Such systematic structuring of the learning task is not ordinarily present in the school learning situation. The typical school learning situation may thus tend toward a moderate level of task difficulty. Such moderate levels of difficulty present in school learning and testing situations may create conditions for strong anxiety and avoidance reactions (Atkinson, 1965), and these factors may be more important in determining the effects of anxiety on intellectual performance than negative interpersonal elements of the learning situation (Grimes and Allinsmith, 1961).

Viewed from the standpoint of the socially and economically disadvantaged child, the typical school learning environment must represent an unusually imposing set of stressful or anxiety inducing circumstances. In general, students from the lower social strata lack the social behaviors appropriate to the typical school learning environment (Clausen and Williams, 1963), thus entailing a greater probability of social rejection, depending upon the prevalent socio-cultural context of the school (Phillips, 1966). A more important cause of debilitating anxiety for the disadvantaged student would appear to stem from an initial and substantial discontinuity between his intellectual development in the family environment and the academic demands of the typical public school context. There is little reason to believe that such discontinuities are substantially mitigated by current educational techniques designed to compensate for an inadequate family background (Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968), and for this reason it might be expected that learning discontinuities become increasingly relevant factors as the disadvantaged child continues in school.

For the lower-class Negro child, the typical school learning environment might reasonably be viewed as even more stressful than if he were simply white and a member of the lower social strata. Whether he enters a segregated school with middle-class Negro teachers or a white middle-class school, the Negro child is likely to be more subject to adverse stimulation as a function of social class disparagement in the former case (Proshansky and Newton, 1968) or in the latter instance as a function of conditioned anxiety associated with the dominant white middle-class figures. Evidence from a series of studies by Katz (1964) provides rather convincing evidence that the white examiner or teacher is himself viewed as a threatening stimulus by the Negro student. When this source of arousal is added to all others potentially existing in the school or the individual (e.g., testing, probable social rejection if in a middle-class white school, unfamiliar and difficult learning materials, lack of relevant educational training in the family), it becomes apparent that the Negro student may have a right to be even more anxious than other disadvantaged groups. Although this question has received very little study, there is evidence that relative to the typical white student, the typical Negro elementary school child is more anxious, experiences more failure--especially in the early elementary grades, has more pronounced feelings of inferiority, and shows more signs of maladaptive withdrawal from the academic situation (Phillips,1966). There is also evidence that among both lower-class Negro and white high school students anxiety tends to be associated with fewer planned years of schooling and a lower number of years perceived as necessary for first occupational choice (Schmalzreid, 1967).

Evidence that disadvantaged minority groups may be subject to more debilitating interference from anxiety than middle-class white children comes from a study by Phillips and McNeil (1968). The results of this study showed that non-Anglos (Negroes and Mexican-Americans) were more anxious about school situations than Anglos, with the largest difference occurring for situations involving tests. It was suggested that the performance of non-Anglos on tests was probably penalized more by the effects of anxiety than Anglos. Furthermore, non-Anglos were apparently more concerned with recognition from peers in school and with recognition from authority figures.

This last cited finding of the Phillips and McNeil study is coordinate with Katz's (1964) assertion that authority figures, especially whites, are particularly relevant in inducing stress in the disadvantaged minority students. To this may be added the additional possibility of the peer group as a particularly relevant stressor for the disadvantaged minority student. In reviewing the evidence on the relevance of the peer group for the psychological well-being of the minority student, Proshansky and Newton (1968, pp. 211, 212) note:

> One of the most obvious factors contributing to possible disruption in the racially mixed school is the attitudes

> which Negro and white children have toward each other. The children come to school bringing the attitudes about race which they have learned from parents and other adults in the community; these attitudes, in turn, have some influence over their behavior toward children of the other racial group. In a very early study /it was/ found that Negro children in racially mixed classrooms accepted white prestige but increasingly withdrew into their own group as a response to white rejection. Many other studies...support this finding. In a trenchant analysis, Katz...describes some of the factors influencing performance of the Negro child who enters a racially mixed school or classroom; in some situations, social rejection and isolation may produce such effects as intellectual impairment and anxiety. It seems that the difficulties involved extend beyond simple "mutual suspicion" and resentment between the two groups. In most cases there are real differences in the form of intellectual development and scholastic performance of the Negro student in comparison with his white classmate. Therefore, the Negro child in a racially mixed school is forced to cope with feelings of inferiority, which have some basis in reality, as well as those feelings induced by his status in and treatment by the dominant white society.

To summarize, the findings of this review indicate that the lower-class student is more likely to be anxious than the middle- or upper-class student. Due to his lack of intellectually and socially relevant preparation in an economically deprived family, he is likely to enter school with less than the required equipment. The result is likely to be an intellectual and social gap, referred to as a psychological and intellectual discontinuity, leading very probably to rejection, anxiety and then withdrawal or some more overt reaction. The socially disadvantaged student must also contend (probably unsuccessfully) with additional varieties of stress present in tests, reading material and the intellectual and social authority of his teacher. For the disadvantaged Negro student, the teacher as an authority figure and the peer group may be more relevant as stress inducing factors than for other minority students, and thus may be more debilitating due to their motivational relevance. Vogel, Raymond and Lazarus (1959), for example, found that stress was essentially not induced nor interfering unless the stressor or threatening stimulus directly threatened the central motivation of the individual.

Academic Motivation, Temporal Orientation and Social Class

> The desire to perform competently in achievement situations is a basic and pervasive motive in human experience. The ubiquity of the need is evident not only in the towering intellectual products of a Spinoza or an Einstein, but also in the first faltering efforts of a toddler to walk unaided or of a preschool child to print his own name. To most humans--philosopher or carpenter, child or adult--the attainment of desired achievement goals, and the attendant approval (whether from self or others) accruing to such attainment, are important sources of satisfaction and security (Crandall, 1963, p. 416).

Although for most of us, as Crandall states, the benefits of a strong and well developed achievement orientation may have a very pervasive and positive effect on the quality of one's life, for others achievement orientation is not very well developed for social and economic reasons. Under deprived social and economic circumstances, it is likely that, even if an initial achievement orientation were there, circumstances may prevent its full development with probable undesirable consequences for the corresponding development of the individual.

In a recent article, Katz (1968) reported that the results of a number of studies showed that lower-class Negro parents have inordinately high achievement aspirations for their children. Such aspirations, however, are greatly discrepant with the amount of effort lower-class parents expended in supporting their children's achievement behavior. These high aspirations were nevertheless transmitted to the child, however unrealistic. Indirect evidence further suggests that low achieving Negro boys internalize a defensive, self discouragement mechanism by predisposing themselves to self criticism. They learn to self impose failure. Low academic achievement and self criticism are also found to be related to perceptions of low rewarding value and high punitiveness.

Middle-class parents, on the other hand, are more likely to create the appropriate conditions for the development of achievement motivation. Such conditions include not only the holding of high achievement aspirations for the child, but the early initiation of independence training and the selective use of negative and positive reinforcers designed to strengthen independence and achievement oriented behaviors (Crandall, 1963).

An additional and important mechanism for the transmission of achievement oriented behaviors from parent to child is known as modeling or imitation. Bandura and Huston (1961) explained that although part of the child's socialization takes place by direct training, much of a child's repetoire is acquired through identification. The hypothesis that children would learn to imitate behavior exhibited by an experimenter-model was tested. Forty-eight preschool children performed a diverting two-choice discrimination problem with a model who displayed fairly explicit, although non-functional, behaviors during the trials. The results of the study not only indicated that the children reproduced behaviors resembling those of the model but, except for one response category, did not overlap in types of imitative responses displayed. It seems that in reproducing the model's behavior the child rewards himself. Nurturance was not found to influence imitative discrimination learning.

In a study of aggression through imitation (Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1961), the transmission of behavior through a process of social imitation was shown to involve the generalization of imitative responses to new situations in which the model was absent. The results of this study provide strong evidence that observation of cues produced by the behavior or others is an effective means of eliciting responses for which the original probability of occurrence is very low or zero.

The significance of imitative learning in the development of social class linked achievement behaviors is evident when one considers the types of models available to the lower class child. The lack of an appropriate achievement model may be especially significant for the lower-class Negro child who is far more likely to experience inappropriate or inadequate modeling than the white child (Wilson, 1967).

Still another aspect of orientation toward success in achievement situations is the extent to which the individual plans for or orients himself toward the future. Current studies show that constriction in time sense (referred to as temporal orientation)[16] relates to lower-class status and to undesirable behaviors such as delinquency and low academic achievement.

LeShan (1952) investigated time orientation and social class employing 117 children of middle- and lower-socioeconomic status as subjects. Subjects were asked to tell a story and each child's time orientation was determined by the period of time covered by the action of his story. The results demonstrated middle-class subjects to be significantly more future oriented than lower-class subjects. A similar study conducted by Ellis et al. (1955) supported LeShan's findings.

Brandt and Johnson (1955) studied the time orientation of adjudicated and nonadjudicated delinquent and nondelinquent boys. Subjects were matched on the basis of social class. The delinquents produced stories with shorter time spans than the nondelinquents. These findings were further supported in a study which employed both adjudicated and nonadjudicated delinquent girls as subjects (Barabasz, 1968a, 1969a).

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[16] Temporal orientation - The degree to which a person thinks in terms of the future - a time constricted individual plans only in terms of the immediate; whereas one who is future oriented formulates long-term goals and paths toward these goals.

Brock and Del Giudice (1963) found subjects who stole money from the experimenter to be more constricted in temporal orientation than those who did not. His study also indicated that temporal orientation was not related to race, age, sex or IQ. The lack of significant correlation between temporal orientation and intelligence was supported by Barabasz (1968).

Teahan (1958) investigated the future time perspective of high and low academic achievers matched for age and socioeconomic status. The high achievers had received academic grades in the upper quartile of their classes for the previous two years and the low achievers had been in the lower quartile for the same period. It was concluded that high achievers were more future oriented than low achievers. It was also noted that there was no significant relationship between time perspective and intelligence.

Barabasz (1969) conducted a similar investigation using high achieving and low achieving college undergraduates as subjects. The subjects were asked to tell stories concerning several photographs and the median story plot length for each subject was employed as the measure of temporal orientation. Significant differences were found between the story plot length of high achievers and the low achievers indicating that the high achievers were more future oriented.

The present versus future orientations of different social class and ethnic groups are probably very largely a reflection of the child's sense of control over the available reinforcers in the achieving society. Wilson (1967) implied that the restricted time orientation of lower-class students is realistic in the sense that the future is less promising or rewarding to them than for the middle class student whose orientation to the future is continually reinforced by success in school and in other areas. Therefore, it is easy to visualize the development of a future temporal orientation in the middle-class student, since he is more likely to receive appropriate achievement training, observe achievement oriented models, be imbued with high but realistic educational and vocational aspirations and probably most important, experience a relatively high level of success in school. The lower-class student, particularly the lower-class Negro, is far less likely to experience such positive events, and thus is more likely to lack a sense of control over events affecting him, and less likely to plan for future contingencies.

Self Esteem

As each child develops means for the evaluation of external stimuli in the environment he also develops an evaluative and personal assessment of his own worth. This assessment is described as the child's self concept or self esteem and is formed on the basis of such referents as appearance, group membership, achievement and aspirations. The value scale used by the child in measuring his worth in terms of these referents is generally that which is used by the larger society. For the lower-social-class child and for the Negro child this value scale is more likely to result in negative self evaluations than for the middle- or upper-class child or white child, partly for the reason that the value scale used by the larger society is most represented by the values of the white middle-class family.

The Negro child especially suffers the negative effects of the dominant value system upon his view of self. In appearance he possesses those physical characteristics of his race which are so visibly different from the white, middle-class norms. He is a member of a distinctive racial group that since the introduction of slavery in the American colonies has been viewed either overtly or subconsciously as inferior by the far more numerous white population. The achievements of his race and his ancestors have been obscured by an educational and cultural system based on white middle-class values. This system has also minimized his own achievements since he enters it disadvantaged by a lack of understanding or knowledge of its values and requirements. Because of discriminatory practices of the larger population against the members of his racial group he may realistically only aspire to limited goals of future success.

Educators have generally assumed that a child's view of himself should be favorable. For example, Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1965, p. 141) state "...it seems quite clear that one of the individual's most basic and continuing needs is for a self-image that is essentially positive." Unfortunately, inadequate research exists to substantiate this assumption fully and what research does exist has been particularly hampered by methodological problems. Measures of self esteem have often been highly subjective and have failed to recognize social class as an important variable in instrument content. Social class has also been frequently neglected in research design and researchers have viewed all differences between the self esteem levels of Negro and white children as resulting solely from racial differences. Simpson and Yinger (1965) note that prejudice based on race and its effects on the Negro child may vary greatly in relation to group cohesiveness, intergroup contact, color variations within the group, surrounding group attitudes toward prejudice and experience with other intergroup patterns.

One of the major factors affecting the development of the Negro child's conception of self that has been rather thoroughly examined is the development of an awareness or consciousness of race. Morland (1966) evaluated the ability of Southern and Northern children of various age levels to identify themselves as members of a distinct race and to recognize racial differences. Subjects responded to a series of pictures depicting Negroes and whites. The ability to recognize the racial identity of the person depicted was found to increase from age three to age six with the greatest growth at age four. Another study reported by Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) even detected some degree of racial awareness as early as age two. However, racial awareness is probably more apparent than real until age eight or nine (Proshansky and Newton, 1968). Goodman (1952) noted that although Negro and white children used racial terms to describe and label others, their use of such terms was often inaccurate. The ability to categorize by race actually seems just to emerge at age seven (Vaughn, 1963).

As the child learns to identify in terms of racial labels, he also learns the popular sterotypes used to describe racial and ethnic groups (Proshansky and Newton, 1968). Negro and white children begin to associate terms such as "dirty," "bad" and "ugly" with Negroes and terms such as "clean," "nice" and "good" with whites. For the Negro child, whites are established as vastly superior and in terms of this sterotype of supposed white superiority the Negro child may often subconsciously reject his own race. Morland (1962) studied 407 young, Southern Negro and white children and found that 60 percent of the Negro children preferred to play with children of the other race. Only 18 percent of the Negro children preferred children of their own race as playmates and 22 percent expressed no preference.

Other studies have indicated that, confronted by the sterotype of white superiority, the Negro child may even express overt hostility toward other Negroes in a greater degree than he expresses hostility toward whites.

Goodman (1952) found that only 9 percent of the Negro children in her sample expressed hostility toward whites, while 24 percent directed hostility toward members of their own race.

In the famous Clark and Clark (1947) doll study, 253, two to seven year-old Negro children were individually presented with a white and a Negro doll and asked, "Which doll looks nice? Which doll looks bad?" and "Which doll is a nice color?" The white doll was picked by the majority of subjects as the one that "looked nice" and had a "nice color." As the subjects' age increased, the preference for the white doll decreased slightly, but a majority of all subjects at all ages said that the Negro doll looked "bad."

Evidence conflicting with these findings of Negroes' hostility toward their own race was reported by Gregor and McPherson (1966). They also reported, however, that whites had a stronger preference for their own race than did Negroes.

Level of Aspiration

Considering the greater frequency of negative self evaluation among Negroes than among whites and the tendency for the Negro to deprecate his own racial group, as compared to whites, the level of aspiration of Negroes might be expected to be much lower than that for comparable whites. Research, however, generally indicates that the expressed educational and occupational aspirations of Negroes are actually higher than those of whites.

In a comprehensive study of Reiss and Rhodes (1958), 21,000 students in the Northville, Tennessee, area served as subjects. The Negro students of the sample were found to place a much higher emphasis upon education than did their white counterparts. Age, sex, IQ and socioeconomic status were found to have less influence than race when comparisons of educational aspirations were made between whites and Negroes.

A study of the occupational goals of high school seniors in Kentucky was conducted by Lott and Lott (1963). They found that, with the exception of Negro girls, the occupational goals of Negro students were similar to those of white students. Negro girls concentrated their occupational aspirations among the professions while totally rejecting the role of housewife.

Sprey (1962) examined the aspirations of ninth grade students and found ambitious patterns of aspirations among Negro girls. A greater number of Negro girls were actively involved in planning for their future than were Negro boys. More Negro girls than boys were enrolled in college preparatory programs.

Gist and Bennett (1963) recorded the educational and occupational aspirations of Negro and white high school students in Kansas City. No significant differences between Negroes and whites were found in level of occupational aspiration, but Negroes did have significantly higher educational aspirations.

The great discrepancy between observed self esteem and verbalized level of aspiration in the Negro child may largely be the result of wishful thinking or of a defensive reaction on the part of the Negro child. In discussing the college aspirations of Negro and white students the Coleman _et al_. (1966) report states that while more Negro high school students than whites reported a desire to attend college, very few of these Negro students had seen a college catalogue or had written to a college for information. Katz (1968) suggests that this phenomenon may result from the Negro student's verbalizations of educational and occupational desires as a psychological substitute for the behaviors required to attain these goals which he is unable to enact.

Summary and Conclusions

Substantial research effort has been expended to document the social and educational disadvantages of the American Negro child and of other children in similarly deprived ethnic and social class groups. The results of this effort have been selectively reviewed in the preceding pages. For convenience of presentation, the research has been classified in terms of major areas of disadvantagement related to school behavior and learning. These areas are: intelligence, academic achievement, language development, special abilities, basic learning abilities, physical health, anxiety, academic motivation, temporal orientation, self esteem and level of educational and occupational aspiration. The conclusions of the research reviewed in each of these areas may be summarized briefly as follows:

Intelligence

Intelligence level, as measured through a wide range of group and individual intelligence tests, generally shows a less than moderate but positive relationship with indexes of social class level. Further than this, there are ethnic differences in intelligence scores which are only partly explained by typical indexes of social class level. The picture is further complicated (or illuminated) by recent evidence of a differential impact of social class level within ethnic groups, such that the lower-status Negro may suffer more debilitating effects on educational development than other lower-status ethnic groups.

Academic Achievement

The evidence relating social status to academic achievement generally indicates that socioeconomic status and intelligence level contribute independently to school achievement. Negro-white achievement differences are roughly on the order of one standard deviation across the school years in the metropolitan Northeast, but increase with years in school when comparing whites in the Northeast with Negroes in the rural South. Puerto Rican children are somewhat more educationally disadvantaged than Northern Negroes. Regional differences in Negro-white achievement comparisons appear to represent different forms of inequality of educational opportunity.

Language Development

The survey of studies on language development generally indicates that the lower-status child's language may be somewhat simpler in syntax, relatively lacking in vocabulary, and may employ fewer descriptive terms and modifiers than the language of the middle-class child. Lower-class communication patterns tend to emphasize commands, short sentences and a heavier reliance on gestural responses. Although the educational significance of social class differences in language patterns is far from clear, it does seem evident that language development plays an important role in certain kinds of problem solving, learning to read, and performance on tests of achievement and ability. The findings thus provide an important and provocative area for experimentation in the educational programs of disadvantaged children.

Special Abilities

Scores on tests of special abilities and aptitudes are generally related to social class status in the same manner as scores on traditional intelligence tests. However, recent findings suggest that the effect of social class level on abilities is pervasive but undifferentiating, whereas ethnic group membership results in a patterning of special abilities in important educationally relevant areas. The results of research in this area are in need of extensive replication with additional samples of minority group children at different age levels, and may eventually indicate that educational programs for disadvantaged children must take into account much finer differences than those obtained from the more gross measures of ability represented by the traditional IQ test.

Basic Learning Abilities

Measures of basic learning abilities, such as serial rote learning, depend little on previous learning and verbal mediational processes, and thus theoretically are more indicative of native intellectual endowment. Performance on tests of basic learning abilities is markedly less affected by class and ethnic differences than is performance on traditional tests of intelligence. In lower-class children, basic learning ability levels are essentially unrelated to intelligence levels. Although more definitive research is required, the findings relating to basic learning abilities suggest entirely new approaches to the teaching of socially disadvantaged children.

Physical Health

The greater predominance of malnutrition and premature births in the lower social strata and among Negro families probably contributes to a greater predominance of neurological abnormalities among these groups, thus affecting later intellectual development.

Anxiety

Anxiety relates negatively to indexes of school achievement as well as a variety of other indexes of intellectual performance. Since the typical school learning environment may represent an unusually imposing set of stressful and anxiety inducing circumstances for the socially and economically disadvantaged child, these children, and especially the disadvantaged

Negro child may suffer more frequently from the negative effects of anxiety upon school and intellectual performance.

Academic Motivation

The development of achievement motivation is dependent upon the modeling of observed adult behaviors and attitudes and other special learning conditions. For the disadvantaged child and especially the disadvantaged Negro child, the available adult models in the home environment, while stressing an inordinately high achievement aspiration, apparently do not provide the appropriate achievement oriented behaviors required for academic success.

Temporal Orientation

Current studies show that constriction in time sense, that is orientation of all or most of the child's thought and activities to the present, as opposed to a future orientation, relates to lower-class status and to undesirable behavior such as delinquency and low academic achievement. Other evidence (Wilson, 1967) suggests that a constricted temporal orientation is a reflection of continuously experienced failure in the academic context, together with a corresponding weakening of commitment to academic and other values ascribed to by the bulk of society.

Self Esteem

It is generally assumed that a positive self esteem enhances and contributes to academic success. Racial stereotypes prevalent in society, however, are generally deprecative of Negroes and contribute to a greater frequency of self-deprecating attitudes among Negro children than among white children. The relationship of these self-deprecating attitudes to academic success, social class, and ethnicity is in need of further illumination through research.

Level of Aspiration

While Negro children tend to verbalize higher academic and occupational aspirations than their white classmates, these verbalizations are generally not accompanied by the behaviors required to attain the goals aspired to, and are probably only psychological substitutes for such behaviors, which the child is unable to enact.

Conclusions

This review has emphasized a number of potentially important sociocultural differences, some of which represent rather firmly established facts and others of which yet require considerable elaboration through research. The former group are those "facts" which have been firmly established in research on gross social class and ethnic differences in educational and intellectual development. Such differences provide the basis for a general understanding of the size or significance of the educational and intellectual differences associated with social class and ethnic membership. This evidence is also indicative of the potential problems faced by the educators and supporting personnel involved in efforts to upgrade the educational development of disadvantaged children in integrated school settings and otherwise.

The less established "facts" in this review are those developed in research on language development, basic learning abilities, and specific intellectual abilities. It is, however, these least established findings which form a more definitive basis for understanding the findings of research reviewed in subsequent chapters of this report. For example, Jensen's (1969) findings relating to social class and ethnic differences in basic learning abilities have a number of specific implications for understanding the generally massive failure of compensatory education programs. Relevant implications of these, and other findings relating to abilities, also become apparent in viewing the evaluation of the effectiveness of current approaches to school integration contained in Chapter V.

Somewhat more established are the research findings relating anxiety to educational and intellectual development. Studies completed primarily on white school children have generally established that anxiety may have pervasive debilitating effects on educational development, depending upon the nature of the school context and other characteristics of the student. Much more needs to be learned of the potentially more debilitating effects of anxiety and related behaviors on intellectual and educational development among minority group students. However, the evidence now available is sufficiently provocative to suggest that anxiety and certain defensive orientations play a psychologically significant role in newly desegregated school settings as well as in those schools which may be considered disadvantaged as a function of social class composition. Similarly, the research findings relating to temporal orientation, academic motivation, and self esteem have different implications when examined in relation to school settings which differ on the basis of racial and social class composition.

If anything, the findings reviewed in this Chapter should indicate the complexity of the problems which are likely to be involved in efforts to facilitate educational development in disadvantaged minority group students, whether through school desegregation, compensatory education, or both. The disadvantaged Negro student is not just typically a student with a relatively low IQ score, but is an individual who is likely to display complex patterns of behaviors and ability levels whose significance in a variety of even more complex behavior settings is yet little understood. The findings of Lesser _et al_. for example, showed that Negro students displayed an ability patterning which differed considerably from other ethnic groups. The Negro sample in this study was second only to the Jewish sample in level of performance on the test of verbal abilities. Current compensatory education efforts, however, appear to place heavy emphasis on the development of verbal skills in disadvantaged Negro students, while underemphasizing or neglecting other ability areas where these students may be relatively low.

CHAPTER IV

MAJOR STUDIES OF RACIAL AND SOCIAL CLASS ISOLATION IN THE SCHOOLS

The focus of the present chapter is a critical examination of major studies of the relationship between racial and social class isolation in the schools and intellectual, educational, and attitudinal development in advantaged white and disadvantaged minority student populations. Major sources for the study of these relationships are the Coleman _et al_. (1966) survey, a number of reports in _Racial Isolation in the Public Schools_ (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967), and a reanalysis of the data from Coleman _et al_. reported by McPartland (1967). Together these reports constitute four separate studies of racial and social class isolation in the public schools, three of which are based on the data from Coleman _et al_. Three additional surveys of the relationship between prior racial and social class isolation in the educational context and adult interracial attitudes and contact are reported in the final section of this chapter. The source for the adult surveys was again the 1967 report of the Civil Rights Commission.

All studies reviewed were based on large, and in some cases, nationally or regionally representative samples of students and adults. All attempted to control for a number of extraneous sources of "noise" in order to create some basis for causal analyses of the relationship between varying degrees of racial and social isolation in the schools and intellectual and educational development, as well as other student characteristics. It is evident that the study of such causal relations was not an entirely objective exercise in all studies reviewed, but in some instances amounted to a somewhat painstaking search to uncover some evidence which would link segregation to severe educational deficiencies in minority group students. A careful examination of the evidence, however, fails to show that racial isolation by itself has been established as a prime or even important cause of educational deficiency. What the evidence does clearly show has more general implications than the establishment of effects due to segregation. That is, the predominant social-economic context of the school appears to exert an important influence on the educational and intellectual development of students. Negroes and certain other minority group members are thus recognized as decidedly disadvantaged, educationally and otherwise, due to the close correspondence between race and economic status.

The residue of the results of the studies reviewed in the present chapter also provide a substantial but yet tentative basis for a number of recommendations concerning ways in which the social class status of the school and other relevant factors may be manipulated to increase the chances that Negro and other disadvantaged children may experience a more facilitating educational climate. Given the current national commitment to school desegregation, it is of considerable importance that all systematic knowledge be brought to bear on making the process of desegregation as psychologically and educationally effective as possible. A major focus of this chapter is therefore on the clarification of relevant conditions which may be manipulated in the school to enhance the potentially facilitating effects of school desegregation. Such conditions include arranging appropriate social class balance in the school and classroom, selecting the appropriate grade or grade levels for the initiation of the process, as well as other conditions. Other findings of the studies reviewed provide a source for additional recommendations concerning some kinds of general qualitative changes which may assist in facilitating the educational development of minority group students during the interim of segregated schooling.

It will also be evident from this review and that presented in the subsequent chapter, that school desegregation is no panacea leading to the sudden disappearance of the intellectual and educational gaps existing between members of the advantaged majority student population and those regarded as disadvantaged minority students. The evidence in this and the subsequent chapter does indeed indicate that, under certain conditions, desegregation may result in worthwhile educational benefits for disadvantaged students. However, knowledge of the process of desegregation is not yet so complete, nor is what is now known of the process so systematically applied,that any startling changes in educational development should become evident among desegregated minority group students.

The reader is encouraged to view the findings of this and the subsequent chapter from an experimental point of view. There are many large gaps in current knowledge of the process of desegregation, and what is "known" is subject to change as a result of further more sophisticated research. However, it is unnecessary in any event to justify the need for school desegregation on the basis of research findings. Rather, it is proper that recognition be given to the fact that we face an immensely complex and difficult social-educational problem. Commitment to a total solution has already been achieved. The results of the current body of research may thus assist in providing a rational basis for the often slow and painstaking efforts required for the solution of a major social problem. Limited as this knowledge is, at present, it is sufficient to enhance our chances of success, and assist us in avoiding the more serious errors that may render efforts at school desegregation either ineffective or damaging.

The Equality of Educational Opportunity Report

The Coleman et al. survey was based on a national probability sample of 4,000 elementary and secondary schools, including all district superintendents, principals, and teachers therein; and a total of 645,000 students in grades 1, 3, 6, 9 and 12. Some ten percent of the districts in the original sample refused to participate, and complete returns of all data were received from only about 60 percent of the sample. Although the non-response rate may have affected certain of the results, there is little reason to believe that the major relationships studied were seriously affected (cf. Jencks, 1969; Coleman et al., 1966, pp. 565-570).

The survey was in part directed at determining the relationships of a number of school and non-school factors with achievement. Those of concern in this review include the relationships between achievement as a dependent variable and the independent variables: family background factors, student attitudes, individual and school social class level, school characteristics and racial composition of the schools.

Data for the survey relating to school and personnel characteristics, and socioeconomic data for the neighborhoods served by the schools surveyed, were obtained from verbal tests given to teachers and from questionnaire responses from teachers, principals and superintendents. Students provided information on individual socioeconomic background, parents' education, educationally relevant items in the home, and academic aspirations and attitudes about school. Measures of students' verbal and nonverbal abilities were obtained at all grade levels studied, and additional measures of reading comprehension and mathematics achievement were obtained for grades 6, 9 and 12.

For the main analyses, the sample was classified on the following characteristics: metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan, presence in one of five geographical regions, elementary and secondary levels and membership in certain racial or ethnic groups designated as white, Puerto Rican, Indian-American, Mexican-American or Negro. Results of the analyses reported in this summary center primarily on Negro-white comparisons in the metropolitan Northeast, and to some extent, on Puerto Rican-white comparisons.

The analyses focused on in this summary involve "between-schools" effects of variables such as individual and school social class background, school facilities, teacher quality, racial or ethnic group membership and so on, with a total of some 60 variables in the final analyses. The criterion or dependent variable in most of these analyses was the verbal ability test, a vocabulary test measuring verbal skills. Other analyses involved comparisons of attitudes for each ethnic group studied.

The analyses of between-schools effects are analogous to an educational experiment in which there are a number of treatments--for example, A, B and C--with a certain number of subjects within each treatment. If the treatments differ in effectiveness, then the average scores of the subjects within each treatment might be 80 for A, 65 for B and 50 for C. There would also be variation in scores within each treatment group, such that one student might get a 95, several might score 50 and some might score as low as 10 or 15. It is the between-groups or between-schools differences (school averages or means) that were of primary concern in the Coleman et al. survey, leaving the within-groups variation in scores as "error" or unexplained variation in relation to school factors. Achievement variation among individuals (across schools or treatments) could be, and was, analyzed in relation to non-school or family background factors and student characteristics.

The main results of the survey are presented as proportions or percents of variance explained by a particular factor, or as average scores in a set of cross-tabulations in which the factors under consideration were measured or classified at different levels or for different groups. Before discussing the results of the survey, some explanation of the meaning of variance is in order. The amount of variation in any set of scores is technically known as the variance. If one takes the difference between every score and the mean of the distribution of scores, squares each difference, sums them, and then divides by the total number of scores, the resulting quantity is the variance or a measure of the dispersion of scores in the distribution. Since the variance is variation on an additive scale, the total variance (SS) of the score distribution can be divided into a number of parts, each due to some factor which contributes a certain proportion of the total variance. In the survey, we have two such major proportions of variance: (a) the between-schools variance (SS_b) and (b) the within-schools variance (SS_w). The total variance of scores is then expressed as $SS = SS_b + SS_w$.

Parts of the survey focused primarily on SS_b variance, i.e., that part which could be explained by differences between schools. The proportions of the total variance of verbal ability scores that could be explained by such differences is shown in Table 20 for selected groups of the survey sample.

The between-schools variance components reported in Table 20, and the more complete estimates given in the Coleman *et al*. (p. 296) report,

Table 20

Percent of Total Variance in Individual Verbal Achievement Scores that Lies between Schools[1]

Group	Grade Levels[a] 12	9	6	3	1[b]
Puerto Rican	22.4	21.0	31.3	26.7	16.7
Negro North	10.9	12.7	13.9	19.5	10.6
Negro South	22.5	20.17	22.6	34.7	23.2
White North	7.8	8.7	10.3	11.4	11.1

[1] Adapted from Coleman et al., (1966, p. 296).

[a] Changes in proportions of variance by grade level may only be compared for grades 1-6 (cf. Coleman et al., 1966, p. 296).

[b] Test given shortly after the beginning of the school, thus reflecting the influence of non-school experiences.

indicate a range of 5 to 35 percent over the various ethnic groups treated in the survey. Generally, over 70 percent of the variation in achievement for each ethnic group was variation within the same student body, with the within-groups variance component being even larger (80 to 90 percent) for Negroes and whites.[17] When examined across ethnic groups and grade levels, as shown in Table 20, there was no tendency for the between-schools variance component to show the pattern of increase which might be expected if the influences of educationally relevant differences among schools were to become increasingly important across the years of school. These results, plus the evidence of an already sizeable between-schools variance component at grade 1, indicate indirectly that the between-schools variance component itself is in part a function of initial and continuing differences among schools in family background and other differences (measured and unmeasured) among students. Since the between-schools variance component is relatively small, and includes the influences of non-school factors, it is evident that differences among schools in quality of programs, teachers and so on, can explain only a relatively small part of the total variance of school achievement. For some minority groups, however, the between-schools variance component was large enough to be regarded as educationally important at all grade levels. This was particularly notable for Puerto Ricans, Indian-Americans, and Negroes in the South. Indirectly, this is an indication that qualitative differences in schools make the most difference for those minority groups which are most disadvantaged.

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[17] This result held equally or more strongly for test scores other than verbal ability. In general, the results cited here for verbal ability are indicative of the results in other areas such as reading comprehension and mathematics achievement due to the high correlations among the achievement measures used in the study.

Relationship of Family Background Factors to School Achievement

To determine the extent to which family background influences achievement, both within- and between-school variations were examined, thus yielding an estimate of the strength of the relationship of social class and ethnic background factors to achievement. The proportions of achievement variance attributable to family background factors, both within- and between-schools, is shown in Table 21 for selected segments of the sample. These data show that, on the average, the amount of within-school variance accounted for by family background and attitudinal factors, at each grade level, is roughly of the same order of magnitude as the variance associated with between-school differences. For all groups examined in the survey, the total variance of achievement associated with between- and within-school differences in family background and student attitudes was between 30 and

50 percent. Furthermore, the between-schools variance component was shown to be partially attributable to family background factors: approximately 16 percent of the total between-school variance for Northern whites at the twelfth grade (column A, Table 21), 12 percent for Northern Negroes, and 3 percent for Puerto Ricans, at the twelfth grade level.

Table 21

Estimated Proportions of Achievement Variance Attributable to Family Background and Related Differences and Between Schools Differences[1]

	Variance Source	
Grade 12	A - Between[b] Schools	A + B - Within and Between Schools
Puerto Rican	23.40	31.54
Negro North	11.19	31.04
Negro South	22.15	38.97
White North	8.25	27.12
Grade 9		
Puerto Rican	16.77	30.41
Negro North	8.96	30.48
Negro South	18.55	38.88
White North	8.31	39.56
Grade 6		
Puerto Rican	22.49	40.35
Negro North	11.86	26.39
Negro South	22.25	37.69
White North	12.77	35.77

[1] From Coleman et al. (1966, p. 299).

[b] Background factors are based on an index including urbanism, migration, parents' education, structural integrity of the home, family size, items in the home, reading material, parents' interest and parents' educational desires. Also included in the total relationship are child's attitudes, including interest in school, self concept and control of environment.

The total variance attributable to all family background factors alone (both between- and within-school) ranged from about 4 percent for Puerto Ricans at grade 12 to 36 percent for Oriental-Americans at grade 6. Examination of variance estimates for certain of the family background factors tended to show some decline in their relationship to achievement (cf. Table 3.221.3; Coleman et al., 1966, p. 300) in moving from grade 6 to grade 12, suggesting that the impact of the family on achievement is greater in the earlier years of school than in the later years. This relationship was particularly dramatic for Puerto Rican students.

One of the components of family background--parents' interest in the child's schooling (based on two items: "talk with parents about school" and "anyone read to you when small")--showed a greater increase in the strength of the relationship with achievement for whites and Oriental-Americans with grade level than for the other minority groups. Although a clear-cut interpretation of this result was not possible, it appeared that both majority white and minority group parents generally showed high interest in their children's education; but minority group parents were probably less able to translate their educational desires into effective support for their children.

Further examination of the relationship of different family background variables to achievement for different minority groups showed that, at the sixth grade, educational items in the home relative to economic level of the home had the highest relationship with achievement for minority groups, while parents' education had the highest relationship for whites. For Negroes at grade 12, length of time in an urban environment and size (small) of family showed approximately the same degree of relationship to achievement as parents' education. Structural integrity of the home (father absence) showed essentially no relation to achievement for Negroes, but a strong relation for whites.

In general, these results indicate that family background characteristics are highly important for student achievement in the school and that each minority group has its own pattern of relationship of family background variables to achievement.

Student Body Characteristics

Since the principal way in which the school environments of minority groups and whites differ is in the social class composition of their student bodies, relationships existing between student body characteristics and achievement have a number of important implications for education. Table 22 shows the results of one of the survey analyses in which the relative contributions of student body characteristics and school quality to achievement were examined for different minority groups across grade levels. Comparisons of the A column (variance accounted for by school characteristics) and the gain column (additional variance accounted for by student body characteristics) show, in general, that the social class composition of the student body (more positive educational backgrounds and aspirations) related positively to achievement, independently of the student's own background. Furthermore, this relationship was much stronger for disadvantaged minority students--and became increasingly so with higher grade levels than for majority white students. This relationship was particularly dramatic for Puerto Rican students, whereas achievement scores for the highest achieving groups, whites and Orientals (scores for the latter not shown) were only slightly affected by variations in the social class composition of the student body.

Table 22

Individual Verbal Achievement Variance Accounted for by School Characteristics (A) and by School Characteristics[1] Plus Student Body Characteristics[2] (B): Family Background Controlled[3]

	Grade Level														
	12			9			6			3			1		
	A	A+B	gain	A	A+B	gain	A	A+B	gain	A	A+B	gain	A	A+B	gain
Puerto Rican	6.7[a]	22.6	15.9	4.1	15.7	11.6	3.2	11.8	8.6	2.3	8.2	5.9	4.5	6.3	1.7
Negro North	3.1	7.7	4.6	1.5	4.6	3.2	.8	2.7	2.0	3.0	5.1	2.2	2.4	3.3	.9
Negro South	8.6	12.7	4.1	7.5	12.7	5.1	4.9	7.8	2.8	.8	1.4	.6	2.1	2.9	.8
White North	1.9	2.9	1.1	.7	2.3	1.6	.3	3.6	3.3	.3	1.5	1.1	.8	2.4	1.5

[1] School characteristics are: staff expenditures, library volumes, science lab facilities, extracurricular activities, accelerated curricula, comprehensiveness of curriculum, tracking, movement between tracks, size, guidance counselors, school location.

[2] Student body characteristics are: families with encyclopedias, student transfers, attendance, college plans, teacher perception of student body quality, hours of homework.

[3] Adapted from Coleman _et al_., (1966, p. 306).

[a] All figures rounded to one place.

School Facilities and Curriculum

The results of the analyses, presented in Table 22, show a tendency for the relationship between school quality and verbal achievement to increase across grade levels for minority group students, although this relationship was decidedly less strong than the relationship between student body characteristics and achievement. Further analysis in which expenditures and pupil background were controlled indicated that differences in school facilities and curriculum (library volumes per student, science laboratory facilities, presence of accelerated curricula, comprehensiveness of curriculum, promotion policies, grouping or tracking, movement between tracks, school size, number of guidance counselors and urbanism of location) showed very slight relationships with achievement. In nearly all cases, the amount of achievement variance attributable to a particular index of facilities and curriculum was less than one percent in all regions and for all groups. At the elementary grade levels, it was apparent that the contributions of facilities and curriculum to achievement could be ignored. For all facilities and curriculum indexes combined, the largest proportion of achievement variance contributed by school facilities and curriculum was 8.6 percent (inclusive of per-pupil expenditures), and this was for Negroes in the South who were notably more responsive to qualitative differences in schools and student body characteristics than whites and Northern Negroes. The corresponding contribution to achievement for Northern whites was 1.9 percent.

Teacher Characteristics

In interpreting the results of the analyses relating teacher characteristics to achievement, it is important to note that other survey data showed important differences between teachers of majority whites and teachers of certain minority groups. Negro students are generally taught by Negro teachers, whites almost always by white teachers. Negro teachers scored lower than white teachers on a vocabulary test, and were likely to have experienced the same segregated educational background as the students they were teaching.

Variables defining teacher quality used in the survey included, educational level of teachers' families, teaching experience, localism of teachers' experience, level of education, vocabulary test scores, preference for teaching middle-class, white-collar students and proportion of white teachers in the school. When the contributions of teacher characteristics were examined, with only background controlled, it was found that the effects of teacher quality increased across grade levels. The effect of teacher quality was greatest for Puerto Ricans at grade 12; the effect for whites was negligible at all grade levels. The contribution of teacher quality was small at grades 1, 3, 6 and 9 for Northern Negroes, but was somewhat greater at grade 12. Teacher variables with the greatest effects were teachers' family education level, teachers' own education and teachers' score on the vocabulary test. All contributions were positive and generally similar for minority groups.

The relative contributions of school effects, teacher quality, and social class composition of the school may be determined from the data given in Table 23. These data again show that adding school quality differences increases the proportion of achievement variance accounted for only slightly, but that adding the social class composition of the school substantially affects the proportion of achievement variance accounted for--particularly for minority students. The effects of teacher quality and the student environment variables is again shown to increase across grade levels. By

Table 23

Verbal Achievement Variance Attributable to Teacher (T), School Variables (S) and Student Environment Variables (E) in Grades 12, 9 and 6: Background Variables Controlled[1]

	Grade Level								
	12			9			6		
	T	T+S	T+S+E	T	T+S	T+S+E	T	T+S	T+S+E
Puerto Ricans	18.4[a]	20.0	26.4	9.7	11.4	16.3	8.1	10.8	14.0
Negro North	4.4	6.7	9.0	1.6	3.3	5.4	2.2	2.7	4.9
Negro South	10.0	11.7	13.9	7.7	11.2	13.3	5.3	7.8	9.0
White North	1.9	3.2	3.8	1.0	2.1	3.1	1.7	2.0	4.8

[1] From Coleman *et al*. (1966, p. 319).

[a] All figures rounded to one decimal place.

comparing the data shown previously in Table 22 in the column headed "gain" (achievement variance attributable to the addition of student body characteristics) with column "T" in Table 23 (variance attributable to teacher quality), it becomes apparent that teacher quality is roughly as important for achievement as the social class composition of the school and both of these factors are far more important than indicators of school quality. These relationships are most pronounced for Puerto Rican students, considerably less pronounced for Northern Negroes and far less pronounced for Northern whites. Indeed, white students appear to be almost negligibly affected by variations in school quality, social class composition of the schools and teacher quality.

Relative Effects of Racial Composition and Social Class

Initial regression analyses showed that achievement of Negroes was positively affected by increases in the proportion of whites in the school. This relationship was absent at the early elementary grades, was stronger at grades 9 and 12, and was not attributable to differences in facilities and curriculum. Further analyses showed that the effects of achievement differences associated with the racial composition of the schools were nearly wholly attributable to differences between schools in student social class background.[18] Figures 11 and 12 show the results of further analyses in which student achievement was examined in relation to students' reports of the proportion of white students in their classes in the year preceding the survey and the grade level at which the students first attended an integrated school.

In examining Figures 11 and 12, it will be noted that there is a

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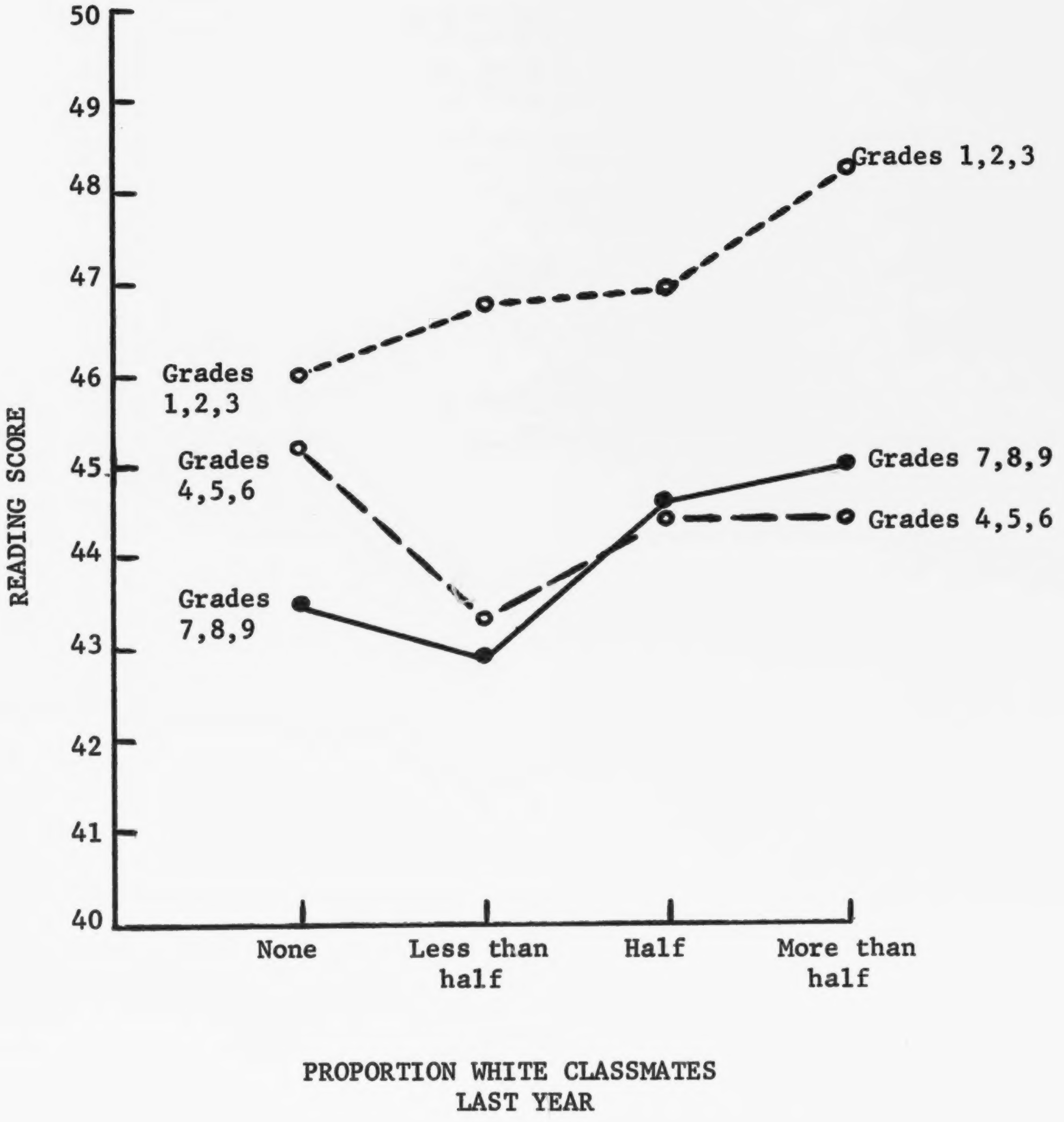
[18] Since there was no control for ability in the Coleman et al. study or in the report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1967), any residual effect for race by itself is suspect.

Figure 11

Average Reading Scores of Ninth Grade Negro Students by Proportion White Classmates in Previous Year of Schooling and First Grade Level Interval at Which Integration Took Place: Metropolitan Northeast[1]



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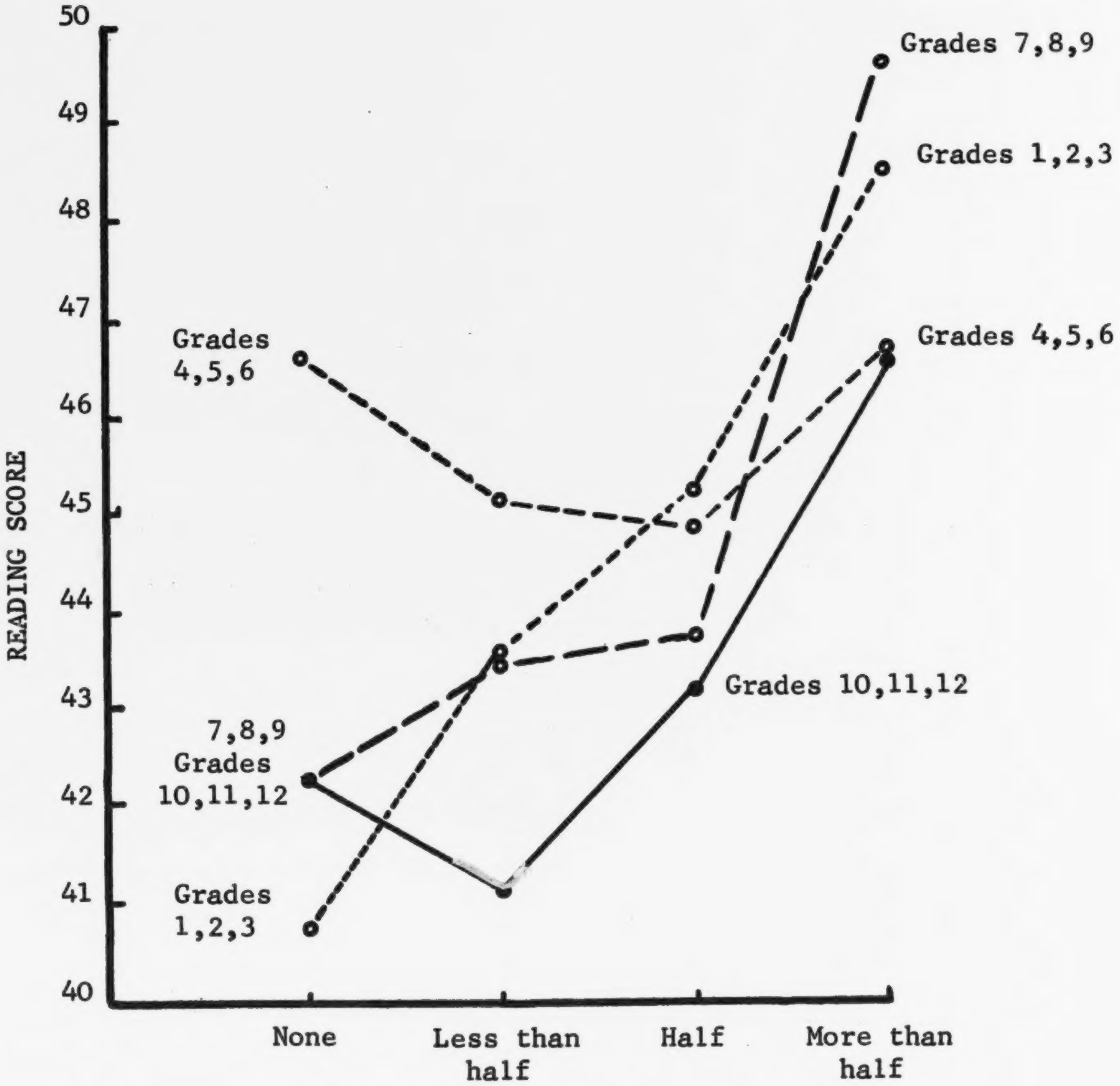
[1] Based on data from Coleman *et al.*, 1966, p. 332.

Figure 12

Average Reading Scores of Twelfth Grade Negro Students by Proportion White Classmates in Previous Year of Schooling and First Grade Level Interval at Which Integration Took Place: Metropolitan Northeast[1]



PROPORTION WHITE CLASSMATES
LAST YEAR

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[1] Based on data from Coleman *et al*., 1966, p. 332.

pattern of increase in achievement favoring students in classrooms of 50 percent or more whites as compared to those in classrooms where whites constitute less than 50 percent. It will also be noted that there is a tendency for students who entered desegregated schools at the early grades to show slightly higher achievement levels than those students who entered desegregated schools in later years. In examining these relationships, it will be recalled that increases in Negro achievement associated with increases in proportion white in the school may primarily reflect the facilitating effects of the more positive social class backgrounds of white students.

An additional important relationship shown in Figures 11 and 12 is the general lack of any positive relationship between proportion white in the school and reading achievement until the proportion white exceeds half. Furthermore, the effect of integration in the school situation must be judged as relatively minor from the data in the Coleman et al. study. For example, when the average scores for Negroes at grades 9 and 12 who experienced classrooms in which less than half the students were white are averaged across grade levels (first grade level interval integrated) and compared with similar averages for Negroes who experienced more than half white classrooms, the difference between the averages are generally only one to two score points in reading achievement. Differences between the averages for integration first experienced at grades 1-2-3, 4-5-6, 7-8-9 and 10-11-12, also tend to be minor, being of the order of one to three score points.

The data presented in Figures 11 and 12, and additional data presented by Coleman et al. give no indication of the full potential of the integrated situation for achievement of Negro students due to the fact that social class composition of the school was not simultaneously varied.

Other results presented in this report, however, indicate that the effect of social class composition of the school is considerably more powerful than any effects that might be attributable to racial integration per se.

Further analyses relating to effects of proportion white in the classroom also tended to show a relationship to interracial acceptance. White students who attended integrated schools at the early elementary grade levels were less likely to choose all white close friends than those who entered integrated schools at later grade levels.

Attitudes and Achievement

Expressions of student attitudes and motivation studied in the survey included the student's reported interest in school, his self concept in relation to success in school and his "sense of control over his environment." Survey data indicated that both Negroes and whites expressed high interest in school and reported positive self concepts. Negroes and Puerto Ricans, however, decidedly differed from whites in that they expressed a much lower sense of control of the environment.

In contrast with previous research relating attitudes to achievement, the results of the survey analyses showed that the attitudes described above were moderately related to achievement, yet were more strongly related to achievement than any other set of variables measured in the study. Table 24 shows the proportion of achievement variance accounted for by interest in school, self concept and sense of control combined, in contrast with the achievement variance accounted for by the strongest background variables. The data shown in Table 24 indicate that attitudes are somewhat more important for achievement than family background--and further--that these attitudes are generally more important for whites than for the minority groups shown.

Table 24

Achievement Variance in Verbal Skills Accounted for by Three Attitudes and Eight Background Variables at Grades 12, 9 and 6[1]

	Attitude by Grade			Background by Grade		
	12	9	6	12	9	6
Puerto Ricans	9.1	14.0	9.0	4.7	6.2	25.6
Negro North	17.5	20.1	13.3	11.0	11.4	10.3
Negro South	17.2	20.1	15.6	15.8	15.7	15.4
White North	29.1	31.1	24.2	24.6	22.4	15.6

[1] Adapted from Coleman _et al_. (1966, p. 321).

Further analyses on the attitude variables showed a different pattern of relationship with achievement for whites and the minority groups, excluding Orientals. Interest in school showed the weakest relationship with achievement for minority groups (negative relationship for Puerto Ricans); self concept related positively to achievement for all groups, but most strongly for whites; control of environment was most strongly related to achievement for the minority groups, but was only slightly related for whites. With family background controlled, self concept again related most strongly to achievement for whites, whereas control of environment related most strongly to achievement for the minority groups--excluding Orientals who showed a pattern similar to whites. School factors were essentially unrelated to self concept and control of environment.

The survey data thus show that the child's sense of control over his environment is one of the crucial differences separating whites and minority groups. The survey data further tend to show that the lower sense of control of minority group students appears to proceed partly from family background experiences. It is also likely that the school is in some way responsible for the differential relationship between sense of control and achievement for whites and minority students. Further analyses, for example, showed that--as the proportion of whites in the school increased--the minority group child's sense of control over his environment increased.

Summary and Implications

Major findings of the Coleman et al. survey are summarized as follows, including those findings not directly treated in this review:

1. Most Negroes and whites attend schools that are largely racially segregated, with this being more true in the South than in the North.
2. Since Negroes are predominantly in the lower social class levels, item 1 translates: Negroes are more likely to be in schools that are isolated by race as well as social class.
3. School facilities, curricula, and teacher quality tend to be somewhat better for whites than for minority groups.
4. There are large discrepancies between the school achievement scores of whites and minority groups, with Southern Negroes and Puerto Ricans being the furthest behind whites. The white versus minority group achievement differences affect verbal ability, reading comprehension, mathematics achievement, as well as other areas. For some minority groups, the achievement discrepancy with whites grows with increasing grade levels.
5. The analyses of the relationship of school and non-school factors to achievement yielded the following major findings:

(a) Relatively little of variation in achievement was attributable to differences between schools in all regions studied. The range was from 10 to 20 percent for Northern Negroes and whites, and about 17 to 31 percent for Puerto Ricans, depending on grade level.

(b) Of the total between-school achievement variation, only a very small portion was attributable to differences directly under control of the school; most of this variation was attributable to family background differences. Furthermore, there was a tendency for family background influences on achievement to decrease across grade levels, with this being rather dramatic for Puerto Ricans.

(c) Conclusions a and b are further qualified by the finding that differences in teacher quality seemed to be increasingly important for the achievement of Puerto Rican students with advancing grade levels. A similar relationship was found for Northern Negroes, but it cannot be considered a particularly important effect for this group.

(c) In addition to the presumed "effects" of school factors and family background on achievement, the survey found that the social class composition of the school related fairly strongly to achievement at the twelfth grade level for certain minority group students, and this relationship was independent of individual student background. This relationship was only nominal at the primary grade levels where the influences of family background were already strong. At the ninth and twelfth grades, however, it appeared that school social class composition was roughly as important for achievement as family background for certain minority groups. This relationship was again much more dramatic for Puerto Ricans than for Northern Negroes (it will be recalled that family background influences seemed to decrease most dramatically with grade level for Puerto Ricans).

(e) Since minority group students appear to be more affected by differences in school quality (some evidence existed that showed minority groups were slightly more affected than whites by qualitative difference between schools, but the relationships were weak in either case), teacher quality and social class composition of the schools relative to whites, this suggests that minority group students are particularly sensitive to variations on these dimensions.

(f) Aside from the school and non-school factors relationships with achievement discussed in _a_ through _e_, there remained one additional set of factors which seemed to be particularly important for achievement of minority students and whites. One particular attitude, the individual's sense of control over his environment, was more strongly related to achievement for minority students than for whites. Minority students were also less convinced than whites that they had such control, but became more convinced and achieved at higher levels if they attended integrated schools.

6. A final set of the survey analyses briefly examined the relationship of interracial schooling on Negro achievement. The major findings in this area were:
    - A. Attendance at schools with whites seemed to relate positively to achievement of Negro students. The total effect appeared to be rather slight and is qualified as follows:
        1. It appeared to be essentially absent when the proportion white in the school was 50 percent or below.
        2. It appeared to be primarily a function of social class mixing rather than racial mixing.
        3. It was more likely to be strong if the Negro student entered the integrated school setting at the early elementary grades rather than later.

The following variables then appeared to relate in important ways to the achievement of minority students (Northern Negroes and Puerto Ricans):

Family Background
School Social Class Composition → Verbal
Teacher Quality Achievement
Sense of Control (and Other Attitudes)

To a lesser extent, one additional set of variables had a low or slight relationship to achievement:

Facilities and Curricula → Achievement

Due to the nature of the Coleman et al. survey, which was cross-sectional (studied intact classes of different students at one particular time) and did not observe or directly create manipulation of the major variables studied, it is difficult to impute causation on the basis of the results. A further and important difficulty with the study centers on the use made of multiple regression as the major analytical technique. When the variables studied tend to be highly interrelated, as many were in the survey, the importance of one variable relative to that of another included in the same analysis may depend on such simple conditions as which variable was entered first in the analysis. Thus, if two variables are equally correlated with achievement and moderately correlated with each other, the first variable entered in the analysis is likely to be judged as more important for achievement.

A further caution concerns the interpretations which may be made of a correlation in the absence of other information. In the survey, the correlation between teacher quality and achievement was taken as indicating that teacher quality affects the achievement of minority group students. An equally plausible interpretation is that better teachers (smarter and more educated) tend to teach in schools where the students are brighter or achieve at higher levels. These and other criticisms have been covered in numerous articles such as those by Bowles (1968) and Jencks (1969).

Some final points of caution relate to the overall success of the survey in accounting for the variance of the achievement of various groups of students. Only some 10 percent of achievement variance of white students could have been accounted for by differences between schools. For Northern Negroes, the percentage was not much higher ranging from roughly 10 to 20 percent of the total variance of achievement, depending on the grade level examined. If causal interpretations were valid, then changing such variables as racial and social class composition and teach quality would not appear to have any great effect on Northern Negroes, although there might be a greater effect for Puerto Ricans. Obviously, it is important to take steps to equate these differences, wherever direct manipulation is possible. It is even more important however, to recognize that most of the variation in achievement in the survey existed within schools and was in part attributable to such factors as student attitudes, particularly the "sense of control" for Northern Negroes, and family background. Even with these factors taken into account, more than half the variation in student achievement remained unaccounted for. Thus much more needs to be learned about the causes of achievement and intellectual development of minority group students before highly definitive steps can be taken.

Despite these criticisms, the survey does provide some limited bases for action in the case of minority group students. The additional studies reviewed in this section generally substantiate the findings of the Coleman *et al*. survey, while allowing some further refinements which improve upon the chances of taking effective action.

Racial Isolation in the Public Schools:
A Reanalysis of the Coleman Data

In the report to the President of the United States, *Racial Isolation* in the Public Schools (1967), the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights described the results of several studies which attempted to replicate and extend the findings of the Coleman et al. survey. This section of the present report is a summary of the major findings from a reanalysis of data for grades 6, 9, and 12 from the Coleman et al. survey. The main focus of these further analyses was to study in more detail the relationship between segregated schooling and achievement of Negro and white students, a relationship which was treated only briefly in the Coleman et al. survey.

The analytical technique used in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (hereafter referred to as the RIPS report) involved the construction of tables of cross-tabulations, of which Table 25 is a slightly simplified example.

Table 25

Explanatory Example of the Cross-Tabulation
Technique Used in the RIPS Report

Individual Student Social Class	Grade Level First Integrated	Proportion White Classmates Last Year			
		None	Less Than Half	Half	More Than Half
Low	Elem.	[a]			
	Intermed.				
	J.H.S.				
	Never				
Middle	Elem.				
	Intermed.				
	J.H.S.				
	Never				
High	Elem.				
	Intermed.				
	J.H.S.				
	Never				

[a] Represents a score for each cell.

The scores used in each cell of the cross-tabulations were students' verbal ability test scores, the main dependent variable in the Coleman et al. survey. This technique allows the assessment of the independent effects of individual factors on achievement such as individual student social class (i.e., each factor is averaged across every other factor). The technique further allows for the assessment of whether the effect of a given factor varies across the levels of another factor (known technically as an interaction between two variables). For example, the data might show an overall effect for proportion of white classmates (a "main effect" averaged across the levels of every other factor), but this effect might not be present for junior high school and high school, but present if integration first occurred at the elementary school level.

Ordinarily, cross-tabulations are an initial step in the use of a statistical technique known as the analysis of variance. The results of such an analysis may indicate statistical significance (reliability) of the effect of a given factor or interaction as well as the relative importance (size) of effects, if more than one occur. It is important to note that such analyses were apparently not performed on the data in the RIPS report. Effects of individual factors and interactions were apparently judged through examination of the average scores in the cells and averages of block of cells in the cross tabulations. Conclusions about main effects, relative sizes of effects, and interaction effects must then be considered with extreme caution.

Another caution to observe is that the conclusions of the RIPS report are based on relatively small differences, although they appear substantial when given in the form of grade equivalents. For example, when the data from one of the tables is transformed to the scale score used in the Coleman et al. survey (average score is 50 with a standard deviation of 10), one finds that the difference between students who experienced integration at grades 1, 2 and 3 (most desirable according to RIPS) and those who never experienced it, within the lowest social class level and averaged across proportion white classmates last year, is roughly 2.9 points in standard scores or roughly one-third of a standard deviation (approximately 4 points difference or 251.7-247.2 on the scale used in the RIPS report). Analyzing the differences between the extremes on proportion white in the classroom (none versus more than half), one notes a difference of roughly 2.0 score points (scale mean = 50, SD = 10) or less than one-fourth of a standard deviation, when averaged across levels of earliest grade in class and mother's education level (262.71 - 259.67 on the scale used by the RIPS survey).[19] In general, the achievement differences associated with levels on a particular factor in all tables of the RIPS report are small to less than moderate.[20] Aside from the question of statistical significance, it is evident that relationships between indexes of integration (e.g., proportion white classmates, grade level at which integration occurred) and achievement are not very large.[21]

Nevertheless, the differences are substantial enough to warrant certain but highly qualified conclusions concerning relationships with integration. With these cautions in mind, it is appropriate to proceed to an outline summary of the major relationships observed in the RIPS report (major variables controlled are indicated).

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[19] Data are from Table 2.6, Appendices, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (1967, p. 54).

[20] See Tables 2.2 to 2.9, pp. 50-57, as well as others dealing with achievement as a dependent variable.

[21] It is possible and likely that the residual relationship between proportion white in the classroom and achievement obtained in the RIPS report is due to average ability level differences associated with classrooms with different proportions of white students. As will be seen later in Wilson's (1967) report, controlling for IQ effectively removes any effect due to racial composition of the classroom.

Relationship of Racial Integration to Achievement and Other Student Variables

1. The racial composition of the classroom was positively associated with achievement, with an apparently slightly greater facilitating effect if integration occurred at earlier rather than later grade levels (social class composition of the school and school variables uncontrolled). The relationship between proportion white in the classroom and achievement appeared to be nonlinear. Across different regional samples the average of the achievement increases is about five-tenths of a point in moving from completely segregated classes to those with fewer than one-half whites; between less than half and half whites, there is an average increase of one point; between half and more than half whites, there is an average increase of about 5 points.
2. With mothers' education level and other educationally relevant family background differences controlled, the relationship between proportion white in the classroom and achievement was maintained. Percent white in the school appeared to have a slight relationship with achievement, but percent white in the classroom had a more consistent and stronger relationship. With additional controls for tracking (may allow only advantaged Negroes in desegregated classes), percent white in the school, individual social

class, and social class composition of the school, the relationship between racial composition of the classroom and achievement remained apparent. The tendency for achievement of Negro students to be meaningfully higher only for those students in more than half white classrooms, relative to Negroes in segregated classrooms, was again apparent in these additional comparisons.

3. The residual effect of the racial composition of the school, i.e., the effect of the racially segregated classroom independent of individual and school social class effects, school characteristics, facilities and curricula, was further examined in a series of analyses in which the influences of the latter group of factors were controlled. Under these conditions, it appeared that there was a slight independent or residual relationship between achievement of Negro students and proportion white in the classroom. Although this is interpreted as indicating that racial segregation by itself exerts a damaging effect on achievement of Negro students, other interpretations also apply. On this crucial point, it must be remembered that no significance tests were applied in these analyses, and more sophisticated analyses of the same hypothesis failed to show that racial isolation by itself makes a significant difference in achievement (Wilson, 1967).
4. Examination of conditions within desegregated schools showed a slight relationship between interracial tension and achievement, and interracial tension and attitudes of Negro students. Additional evidence

suggested that interracial tension was in part a function of the length of time the student has been integrated, such that schools with students who have been integrated for longer periods experience less racial tension. Being in a desegregated classroom is also associated with increases in the proportion of Negro students who have definite plans for college, who also disagree with the statement, "Good luck is more important than hard work for success" (sense of control) and who are more likely to have close white friends.

5. Interracial friendships which are apparently facilitated in integrated classrooms also appear to reduce the likelihood that Negro students will prefer to attend racially segregated schools and increases the likelihood that Negro students will make definite plans to attend college. Though the relationships discussed in items 4 and 5 need further study, the data suggest that the development of Negro-white friendships (in the school context) is psychologically important, possibly mediating in part the effect of interracial schooling on Negro students' achievement, racial attitudes and sense of control over the environment. Other interpretations also apply.

Relationship of School Characteristics (facilities, curricula and teacher factors) to Student Performance

1. Most of the relationships of school facilities, curriculum and school quality (an index) with achievement studied in the report appear to have yielded very weak or inconsistent relationships when examined across social class variables

and proportion white in the classroom. This part of the survey's cross-tabulations is frequently plagued by empty cells, nearly empty cells or considerable disparity in the number of subjects in different cells. Any results are thus highly likely to be attributable to sampling errors (they probably would not stand up in a replication). One relationship which appears to be most consistent in the survey is the positive relationship between indexes of teacher quality (e.g., verbal ability, mother's educational level) and student achievement, and this relationship seemed to be more consistent for Negroes in the category, "classrooms with more than half white." The results here are rather similar to the findings of the Coleman et al. analyses on the same data for Negroes in the Metropolitan Northeast (analyses of teacher and school effects in the RIPS report were done on Negroes in the Metropolitan Northeast). That is, school and teacher effects did not account for major portions of achievement variance for Negroes in the Northeast. Family background and social class composition appear to be more important in both the Coleman et al. survey and the RIPS report.

Relationship of Integration to Achievement and Attitudes for White Students

1. This is a particularly important part of the survey in which the implications of integration were examined for white students in the Metropolitan Northeast. The results relating to achievement indicated that, with family background and school social class effects controlled,

there was no apparent relationship between the proportion of Negroes in the school or classroom, or the grade level at which integration was experienced and the achievement levels of white students. Parents' educational levels and educational desires were strongly related to the achievement of white students; social class composition of the school was similarly related to the achievement of white students, but was independent of proportion white in the classroom and weaker than family background factors. The findings for college plans were similar to those for integration and achievement.

2. The findings on student attitudes showed that white students were less likely to choose to attend an all-white school if they had previously been in an integrated classroom. This relationship tended to be stronger if the student experienced integrated schooling in the elementary grades than if he experienced it at later grades. Other findings showed that the length and extent of the integration experience for white students were similarly associated with the proportions of whites who would choose all-white friends or prefer an all-white school. As with the results for Negro students, the findings for white students suggest that positive racial attitudes (lesser preferences for all-white schools and all-white friends) may be partly mediated by Negro-white friendships. All of the findings in which integration was related to attitudes of white students were consistently more dramatic for students who would

be placed in the middle class or higher.[22]

It should be recognized that many of the basic criticisms made of the Coleman et al. study apply equally well to the RIPS report, which after all, reanalyzed the same data. Thus the report is properly regarded as a study of relationships for different students at different grade levels. The findings of the RIPS report were encouragingly similar to those of Coleman et al. Individual and school social class levels still stand out as important factors related to student achievement. School and teacher factors seem even more minimal in their relationship with achievement than in the Coleman et al. report. However, this is probably due to the fact that some of the disadvantaged groups for whom these factors were most important in Coleman et al. were excluded in the RIPS analyses (e.g., Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Southern Negroes). The inconsistency between the two reports on this point would appear to be resolved on the basis of the geographical unit treated.

The authors of the RIPS report apparently feel that one of the more important findings of their study was the demonstration of a negative effect of racial segregation on Negro achievement, when other important sources of variation had been accounted for. Examination of the tables designed to assess this hypothesis indicates that any effect attributable to racial segregation alone is minimal, and may be possibly attributable to ability factors which were not controlled in the RIPS analyses. Furthermore, the writer has been unable to obtain any study which indicates a negative effect of racial isolation in the schools on Negro achievement, after other important influences, such as school social class composition, have been accounted for.

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[22] The findings for integration and interracial attitudes for whites are limited to the ninth grade level, Metropolitan Northeast.

Certain other findings of the RIPS reanalysis of the Coleman et al. data are properly regarded as contributing important new information concerning the conditions which are likely to contribute to success in the integrated situation. Further than this, the report was unable to uncover any harmful effects of integration on the achievement and attitudes of white students. The converse seems to be supported in the RIPS analyses. From the point of view of a democratic society, integrated schools seem to have positive effects on the interracial attitudes of both whites and Negroes.

A Study of Integration in a California Community

As indicated at several points in the discussion of the Coleman et al. survey and the RIPS report, the methodology of these studies does not allow for any firm conclusions concerning the causative effects of such factors as racial isolation and school quality. A study completed by Wilson for the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (cf. Appendices, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, 1967) provides further data on some of the major relationships studied in Coleman et al. and the RIPS analysis of the Coleman et al. data. This study introduced a number of important refinements not present in the latter reports. One of the more important refinements was the establishment of a longitudinal framework for studying relationships between factors associated with segregated schooling and student variables. A second refinement was the introduction of a control for intelligence. Student ability could not practically be controlled in the Coleman et al. and RIPS analyses and thus remains a major alternative explanation for the presumed effects of racial and social class isolation.

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A third refinement, which requires more explanation, concerns Wilson's use of regression analysis, which avoids some of the problems experienced by Coleman et al. in their regression analyses. By selecting standardized partial regression coefficients as the measure of importance, in contrast with the use of increases in the squared multiple correlation (R^2) (interpretable as a proportion of variance), and in-effect including all independent variables simultaneously in the regression analyses, Wilson was in a better position to develop conclusions about relative effects of several factors. This may be shown by way of the simplified example given in Table 26 which presents standardized regression coefficients for four factors

Table 26

Standardized Regression Coefficients for Four Factors in Relation to Achievement[23]

Factor	Reg.[a] Coeff.	R^2	R^2 (increase)[b]
A	.369	55.4	55.4%
B	-.187	60.2	4.8%
C	.379	70.6	10.4%
D	-.109	71.4	.8%

[a] Raw regression coefficients, which are included in Wilson's report, are not interpretable as relative effects.

[b] Measure of importance used in the Coleman et al. study and referred to as the proportion of variance attributable to a given factor. In the study from which these data are taken, if A is entered first, then C will appear less important, using the increase in variance (R^2/increase) as the basis for interpretation.

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[23] From O'Reilly (1969, p. 106). This is intended only an an explanatory example to aid interpretation of Wilson's analysis which is even more complex. The reader is also forewarned that the tests of significance applied in the study should be viewed with some caution (cf. Wilson, 1967, p. 176).

in a single regression equation predicting achievement. The regression coefficients shown in Table 26 may be interpreted as indicating the strength of the independent relationships between factors A-D and achievement.[24] Depending on the ability to meet certain assumptions, an effect or causal interpretation may be made. In this case the regression coefficients represent relative sizes of effects interpretable as follows: given a unit increase in factor A, the effect of A on achievement is roughly a decrease of .37 units. Similarly, with every unit increase in C, there is a corresponding unit increase of about .38 units in achievement. Generally, standardized partial regression coefficients on the order of .1 to .2 represent small but not necessarily unimportant effects; those of .2 to .5 represent more substantial effects and those greater than .5 are quite substantial and are far less frequently found in research studies with large numbers of independent variables.[25] One further point should be made in preparation for interpreting Wilson's results and that concerns the interpretation of relative effects: regression coefficients such as those shown for factors A-D may be compared in relative size, using the absolute value of each coefficient

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[24] The independence of each factor, A, B, C and D, results from the fact that each regression coefficient is a "partial". That is, it represents the relationship between a given factor and achievement with the influences of all other factors included in the analysis removed. Thus if A, B, C and D are intercorrelated (related to each other) a regression coefficient for achievement on A alone would represent a relationship which includes the influences of B, C and D on achievement. The use of a partial regression coefficient effectively removes these confounding influences and may correspondingly allow evaluation of the "true" size of the direct effect of A on achievement.

[25] This interpretation must be used with considerable caution in this study since in a causal analysis a variable may appear to have a slight effect due to the inclusion of other variables which intervene between it and the variable affected. The total effect of a particular independent variable (direct plus indirect effects) may thus be considerably larger than its direct effect alone. Procedures described by Blalock (1961) are appropriate in this case, but were not used in Wilson's study.

(i.e., they are all expressed in the same units). Thus it is possible to state that A is more important than B, but small differences should not be emphasized.

Background of the Study

Since the area covered by the study may to some extent typify smaller urban areas in New York State, it is worth giving some attention to economic and residential factors associated with racial membership. Western Contra Costa County, the geographical unit in the Wilson study, is an industrial urban area in the larger San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan region. As a result of inmigration, the area experienced much growth in the Negro population over a 20 year period, with 12 percent of the population composed of Negroes by 1960. The Negro population is centered primarily in deteriorated areas. Average income in these areas is only about half as large as for the more well-to-do white areas; the average value of housing is only about one-third as large. Because social class and race are highly related, the typical Negro lives in a neighborhood which has a much higher percentage of lower-class residents than the typical white. At the same time, the segregated Negro residential areas tend to be less homogeneous on social class (occupational level) than in white neighborhoods. That is, due to segregated housing patterns, even Negroes in higher status occupations tend to live in areas with a high proportion of residents in the lower social classes. Residence in racially segregated, largely lower-class neighborhoods is the typical pattern for the Negro student across the school years.

The racial composition of the schools generally reflects the residential patterns described above. On the average, white children attend nearly all-white predominantly upper-status schools through the school years.

Negro children, on the average, attend schools with a much higher proportion of Negroes and a much higher proportion of lower-status classmates. This pattern for Negroes was particularly evident at the elementary grades and dropped off somewhat sharply at the junior and senior high school levels.

From the area described above, Wilson, in 1965, selected more than 5,000 students, stratified by sex, race, school and grade level. Random but disproportionate samples were drawn from each strata, with corrective weighting procedures applied in the analyses for disproportionate sampling. Measures were then taken for each student on neighborhood characteristics; social class level; race; family background characteristics relating to social class and ethnicity; a variety of achievement and ability indexes; and indexes of self concept, student attitudes, aspirations and behavioral deviance. Intellectual ability was controlled in the study by using IQ test scores obtained from students when they entered school at the early primary grade levels. Students' ability scores taken at the primary grade level were then used as the index of ability in gauging the effects of schooling on their achievement and related variables at later grade levels. Achievement levels occuring at later grade levels could then be attributed to later environmental influences mediated by initial environmental effects and native endowment in ability. This procedure effectively removed one of the more serious problems experienced in the Coleman _et al_. and RIPS reports, wherein ability variables and early experience remained uncontrolled.

As indicated previously, the statistical technique used in assessing the major questions of the study was regression analysis. Cross-tabulations were also used to examine some relationships. Like the Coleman _et al_. and the RIPS reanalysis of the Coleman _et al_. data, Wilson's study was directed at examining the relationship of various factors associated with racial and social class isolation in the schools to achievement and other behaviors of Negroes and whites at different grade levels. Due to the methodological refinements instituted in Wilson's study, the results may be taken as more definitive than those found with the Coleman et al. data, although some important reservations will be indicated at a later point.

Non-School Sources of Variation in Student Ability and Performance

This section of Wilson's report analyzed the contributions of family background variables and neighborhood characteristics to achievement of Negro and white students. The intent of these analyses was in part to determine whether certain background factors had any significance for achievement and could thus be removed from consideration or taken into account in the main analyses for the study. Achievement and intellectual differences between Negroes and whites by grade level were also further documented.

Table 27 shows the mean IQ scores for Negro and white students in the primary grades and in grades 6, 8 and 11 at the time the study was conducted These data show a difference of 9 IQ points between Negroes and whites at the

Table 27

Mean IQ Scores for Negroes and Whites by Grade Level[1]

Grade Level	N	$\bar{X}$ IQ Negroes	N	$\bar{X}$ IQ Whites
Primary	(1350)	102	(1495	111
Sixth Grade	(1507)	93	(1765)	105
Eighth Grade	(1722)	90	(2029)	104
Eleventh Grade	(623)	90	(934)	105

[1] Source: Wilson (1967, Tables 8-11, pp. 172, 173).

primary grades, which increased to 15 points for student groups at the eleventh grade. In grade equivalents, Negro students show a similar "increasing lag" behind whites in reading achievement: 1.7 years behind whites at grade 6, 1 year at grade 3 and slightly less than one year at first grade.

To determine the relative contributions of background and school variables to achievement at the elementary school level, Wilson performed a series of separate analyses outlined as follows:

1. Effects of father absence on IQ by grade level

   Variables included

   - IQ (first grade)
   - Family background
   - Father absence versus father presence
   - Sex
   - Race

2. Effects of family background on primary grade IQ

   Variables included

   - Social class level of neighborhood
   - Family background variables
   - Individual social class level
   - Racial composition of neighborhood
   - Race

3. Effects of social class of neighborhood and segregated schooling on reading achievement

   Variables included

   - Previous school social class level
   - Previous attendance in segregated primary grades

Extent of previous isolation by race and social class in neighborhood

Family background

Individual social class level

Race

The investigation of the effects of father absence on achievement was apparently included for the purpose of determining whether this family background factor, which is found very frequently among lower-class Negro families, should be taken into account in the other analyses performed in the study. Wilson's analyses among lower-class children, using several measures of educational development at various grade levels, failed to turn up any significant effects for absence of father among Negro and white students. This failure to find any relationship between father absence and achievement is consistent with the findings of Coleman _et al_. for Negro students. Other studies of this relationship have been either negative (Weltz and Wilkinson, 1957; Birnbaum, 1966) or inconclusive (Crescimbeni, 1964; Kasdon, 1955; Kelly, North and Zingle, 1965; and Miner, 1968). Control of the frequency of father absence among the families investigated in Wilson's study therefore appeared unnecessary.

The main results of the second analysis showed that neither the proportion of lower-class children nor the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood seemed to have any relationship to the IQ scores of Negro or white children at the primary grade level. The results of a regression analysis, controlling for additional family characteristics, again failed to show any effect of neighborhood on intelligence as shown in Table 28. This is a particularly important finding, since the data show that the racial and social class composition of the neighborhood fail to impinge upon the child's

Table 28

The Contributions of Non-School Factors to Primary Grade Intelligence[1]

Factor	Normalized Partial Regression Coefficients
Neighborhood Social Class	-N.S.
Family Background	
Lack of Supervision by Mother	-.05*
Number of Objects in Home	.12*
Number of Siblings	-.07*
Family Social Class[a]	-.17*
Race	
Negro	-.14*
White	.03*

[1] Source: Wilson (1967, Table 13, p. 176).

[a] Four occupational levels used.

*Statistically significant

N.S. = Nonsignificant

N = 2,066

intellectual development at the primary grade level. The possible effects of race, individual social class, and the cultural level of the home already appear to have had their effects on primary grade IQ as shown from the significant weights for these factors in Table 28. Other findings showed that family background factors tended to be more highly related to intellectual development for whites than for Negroes, and this is apparently due in part to the fact that variation on social class is greater for whites than for Negroes. Coleman et al. also found that family background tended to explain more variation in verbal ability for whites than Northern Negroes (cf. Tables 3.221.1 and 3.221.2, p. 299). The findings of both studies suggest that social and economic aspects of the family generally impinge more on the intellectual development of whites than Negroes.

The third set of analyses at the elementary grade level examined whether the racial and social class composition of both the neighborhood and the school at the primary grade level had any effects on student achievement by the conclusion of the elementary school years. The results of the regression analysis evaluating these objectives are shown in Table 29.

The results of the analysis shown in Table 29 indicate that primary grade IQ has the largest effect on later educational development ($\underline{B}$ = .15), followed by lower-class primary school (in lower-class primary school or not, $\underline{B}$ = -.12), and these are followed by family social class and related factors. The results in Table 29 further show that when social class composition of the primary school, primary grade IQ and family variables are held constant, attendance in a segregated primary school and being in a lower class neighborhood during the primary grades fail to show a relationship with achievement at the sixth grade. Further there is essentially no effect of race by itself on achievement when other relevant variables are held constant. In discussing the implications of these findings, Wilson concluded:

> The lack of any direct effect of neighborhood composition--either racial or socioeconomic--upon measured school achievement is of considerable consequence for policy and theory. One continuing reservation about the relevance of proposals to alter the demographic composition /racial and social class composition/ of schools is the question as to whether continuing residential segregation might structure the effective environment of students so that their integration in schools

makes no difference. These data are inconsistent with this reservation. On the contrary, these data suggest that the effect of neighborhood segregation on achievement is entirely through the resulting segregation of neighborhood schools on social class lines. Restructuring the composition of schools, even in the absence of residential rearrangement, can be expected to have an effect upon the academic achievement of students (Appendices, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, p. 180).

Table 29

The Contributions of Primary Grade School and Non-School Factors to Reading Achievement at the Sixth Grade Level

Factor	Normalized Partial Regression Coefficients
Lower-Class Primary School	-.12*
Negro Primary School	N.S.
Lower-Class Primary Neighborhood	N.S.
Negro Primary Neighborhood	N.S.
Primary Grade IQ	.15*
Lack of Supervision by Mother	-.04*
Number of Objects in Home	.07*
Family Social Class[a]	.08*
Race	
Negro	-.01*
White	---

[1] Source: Wilson (1967, Table 16, p. 180).

[a] Four occupational levels used.

*Statistically significant

N.S. = Nonsignificant

N = 2,078

Relative Effects of Racial and Social Class Composition on the Achievement of Negroes and Whites

In this section, the contribution of racial and social class isolation to achievement and intellectual development were examined for both whites and Negroes at different grade levels. The results of these analyses document further that the effect of racial segregation on Negro achievement is through the concomitant segregation along social class lines. The negative effect of social class isolation is also evident for whites, but appears to be a more minor contributing factor than for Negro students.

A series of initial cross-tabulations, which may have been considerably affected by sampling errors, tended to show that the verbal reasoning scores of eighth grade whites were negatively affected by prior attendance in schools of lower social class levels, but there was no effect due to racial composition. Table 30 shows the relative contributions of racial and social class isolation to achievement for white and Negro students separately. Comparisons of the coefficients in the first row shows that as the social class status of the school increases, student achievement increases--but the effect is about twice as great for Negro students when compared to the effect for whites. School racial composition, on the other hand, fails to show any relationship to achievement for either Negroes or whites. It may also be noted that the relationship between IQ at the first grade and achievement at the eighth grade is about the same for both Negroes and whites. Family social class, however, is significantly related to achievement only for whites. These results are in accord with those of Coleman et al. and may be interpreted as indicating differential sensitivity of Negroes and whites in relation to the social class context of the classroom and the social class context of the family.

The later effects of social class isolation experienced at different

Table 30

The Contributions of Racial and Social Class Isolation to Eighth Grade Achievement (DAT Verbal Reasoning Percentiles)[1]

Factor	Normalized Partial Regression Coefficients Negro[c]	 White[d]
Lower-Class Intermediate School[a]	.20*	.10*
Negro Intermediate School[b]	N.S.	N.S.
1st Grade IQ	.31*	.32*
Lack of Supervision by Mother	N.S.	-.04*
Number of Objects in Home	.07*	.16*
Number of Siblings	-.09*	-.05*
Family Social Class	N.S.	.15*

[1] Adapted from Wilson (1967, Tables 21 and 24, pp. 184 and 186).

[a] Three school social class levels used (0-19, 20-49, 50-100 percent lower class).

[b] Three levels of racial isolation (0-9, 10-49, 50-100 percent Negro).

[c] N = 905

[d] N = 1,204

*Statistically significant

N. S. = Nonsignificant

stages in the students' period of school may be judged from the results shown in Table 31. The first column shows the coefficients for social class composition of the school at the junior high, intermediate and primary grade levels, in relation to achievement. The major finding to be observed here is that the relationship between social class composition of the

Table 31

The Contributions of Social Class Isolation Experienced at Different Grade Levels to Educational and Intellectual Development[1]

Factor	8th Grade DAT[b] Negroes and Whites	11th Grade IQ[c] Whites	11th Grade IQ Negroes
Lower-Class Senior High School[a]	---	N.S.	N.S.
Lower-Class Junior High School	.06*	N.S.	N.S.
Lower-Class Intermediate School	.11*	.11*	N.S.
Lower-Class Primary School	N.S.	---	---
1st or Primary Grade IQ	.30*	.24*	.22*
Lack of Supervision by Mother	-.04*	-.05*	N.S.
Number of Objects in Home	.13*	.10*	.13*
Number of Siblings	-.05*	-.06*	N.S.
Family Social Class	.13*	.22*	.12*
Race	.12*	---	---

[1] Adapted from Wilson (1967, Tables 28, 29, and 30

[a] Two school social class levels at senior high; three levels for the remaining grades.

[b] Verbal reasoning score, Differential Aptitude Test.

[c] Henmon-Nelson IQ

N's are 2049 for 8th grade DAT; 533 for 11th grade IQ, white; 315 for 11th grade IQ, Negro.

*Statistically significant

school and achievement is stronger if the experience occurred at the intermediate grade levels than if it occurred at the junior high level. The next two columns show the same relationship for eleventh grade intelligence scores, with the exception that primary grade social class composition was apparently not available. The results for these two columns again show that the more immediate experience of upper- or lower-social class composition of the school (senior and junior high school levels) fails to relate to eleventh grade IQ scores. Having attended a predominantly upper status intermediate grade school, however, was facilitating for both Negroes and whites in relation to eighth grade achievement. This relationship with intermediate grade experience holds up for whites when examined at the eleventh grade but fails to be replicated for Negroes.[26]

The results of the analyses relating achievement to level of school social class composition and the time at which these levels were experienced, clearly lead to the interpretation that segregation at the elementary school level may effect subsequent school achievement. Segregation at the junior and senior high school levels has an apparent slight effect, if any. It should be remembered that the effect of segregation is not due to racial composition _per se_, but rather, is directly related to school social class composition. Since the social class composition of the school tends to be of a much lower status for Negroes than for whites, Negro students are thus at a decided educational disadvantage. This is a direct result of racial segregation in the schools and proceeds from the fact that Negro students are far more likely to attend segregated schools at the elementary levels and be members of the lower-class strata (In Wilson's study, the correlation between race and class-status was .77).

---

[26] The lack of a consistent relationship for Negroes at the high school level may have been due to the higher drop-out rate for Negroes, resulting in a group of mostly high achieving Negroes (See Wilson, 1967, p. 189).

Segregation and Other Educationally Relevant Variables

The final set of findings reported by Wilson was concerned with the relationship of racial and social class composition of the school to educational aspirations, academic sense of control, self concept and delinquent behavior. The major findings in these areas, summarized briefly, were as follows:

1. Academic self concept (belief that one can get A's and B's) was essentially unrelated to race and social class, but was strongly and significantly related to achievement level.
2. Sense of control ("planning is useless since one's plans hardly ever work out") was significantly related to verbal achievement, race, social class composition of the school and sex. Students who were lower in achievement, and who were male, Negro, and who had experienced predominantly lower class schooling tended to indicate a lack of sense of control over events affecting them. The most important factor in this respect was verbal achievement level.
3. Among white students, academic self concept and verbal achievement were equally strong predictors of aspiring to attend college. Previous social class composition of the school, family background variables, family social class, and being male also contributed significantly to college aspirations, but less strongly than achievement. Among Negroes, the same set of variables contributed much less strongly to college aspirations, although verbal achievement and academic self concept were the strongest predictors.

4. The lower relevance of achievement and academic self concept in determining college aspirations of Negroes (item 3 above) suggests a distorting defensive process, since it is known that Negro students are far more likely to be low achievers. Among Negroes who attended lower-class schools, the discrepancy between professed college aspirations and the likelihood of academic success was most pronounced. Paradoxically, Negroes were also more likely to reject manual occupations.
5. Data from police records for a two-year period showed that 53 percent of Negro adolescent boys and 26 percent of white adolescent boys had official records of police offenses. The most important correlates of the tendency to be non-delinquent (no police record) were perceived importance of school grades, verbal achievement and attending an upper status school. Family social class level and being in a broken home were not significantly related to the behavioral deviance criterion.

The results of this final set of analyses in Wilson's study suggest a clear-cut pattern linking attendance in racially and socially isolated schools with maladaptive devensive responses expressed in attitudinal orientations as well as in asocial behavior. Lack of school success, which is partly determined by the effects of early experience in the home and the continuous experience of isolation from upper status students during the elementary school years, progressively weakens the individual's feeling that he can attain valued long-term rewards. His sense of commitment to the future (temporal orientation) is correspondingly weakened and he becomes less constrained by the immediate values of education. Increasing alienation from academic values is reflected in withdrawal from school work and school-related activities. Opportunities are thereby made available for engagement of the individual in delinquent acts. In these analyses, it is clear that the quality of schooling is as important a factor in determining asocial behavior in lower status Negroes as the continuing but more indirect influences of individual ability. Neighborhood factors and family structure fail to show any independent influences on the development of delinquent behaviors.

Conclusions and Implications

The conclusions and implications stated below are taken directly from Wilson's report (pp. 202-203). Two additional implications of Wilson's findings are then presented followed by a summary of the major limitations of the study.

1. Allowing for individual differences in personal background, neighborhood context and mental maturity at the time of school entry, variations in elementary school context [social class composition of the school] make a substantial and significant difference in subsequent academic success at higher grade levels.

2. Socioeconomic and racial characteristics of students' agemates in the local neighborhood have no independent effect upon the academic achievement of students attending similar schools.

3. The social class composition of the school...affects the academic development of both Negro and white students in either racially integrated or racially segregated situations.

4. Given similar social class compositions, the racial balance of a school has slight [or no] bearing on the academic performance of students.

5. Social-class segregation of students, through its effect upon the development of academic skills, has ramifying consequences for students' subjective sense of competence and belief that they can plan and control their futures.

> 6. Failure to succeed in school weakens students' bonds to established institutions and social norms, freeing them to engage in delinquent activity. Segregation, moreover, affects official delinquency rates...through its effect /on/ competence, morale, and subsequent behavior / s /...

Wilson further concluded (p. 203):

> In broad outline, we see that the unequal inheritance /social class background/ with which students enter school which should become less salient as students progress through school if schools in fact maximized individual potential, is in fact aggravated because of segregation.
>
> Three guidelines to policy are implicit in the results of this study: (1) Considering conclusions 3 and 4 above, together, strategems to achieve racial balance in schools must simultaneously ameliorate social-class imbalance if they are to equalize the educationally relevant milieu.
>
> (2) From conclusions 2 and 3, while residential integration may be a desirable social goal in its own right, the effectiveness of school integration is not dependent upon concomitant changes in neighborhood patterns.
>
> (3) The large initial differences in social inheritance of children entering school are not perceptibly ameliorated by standard school programs of remedial reading, special classes for the "mentally retarded" /emphasis his/ which take place in segregated schools, and grouped classes within schools.

Two additional broad implications of Wilson's results are brought out in Table 32 which shows the regression coefficients for different levels of school social class composition in relation to educational and intellectual development. Across the analyses in Wilson's study, either two or three school social class levels were used: (a) 0 to 19 and 20 to 60 percent lower-class students in the school; and (b) 0 to 19, 20 to 49 and 50 to 100 percent lower-class students in the school. When the regression coefficients for these school social class levels are examined, it is apparent that there is a generally consistent and positive "effect" on achievement when the percent of lower-class students in the school is less than 20,

Table 32

Contributions of Different Levels of School Social Class Composition to Student Achievement Examined Across Analyses[1]

Analyses	Race	N	% Lower-Class in School	Normalized Partial Regression Coefficients
A (Intermediate on Eighth Grade)	White	640	0 - 19	+.05[a]
		525	20 - 49	-.05
		39	50 - 100	-.02
B (Intermediate on Eighth Grade)	Negro	17	0 - 19	+.18[a]
		502	20 - 49	+.02
		368	50 - 100	-.06
A + B_1 (Junior High on Eighth Grade)	White and Negro	1,430	0 - 19	+.04[a]
		619	20 - 69	-.03
A + B_2 (Intermediate on Eighth Grade)	White and Negro	632	0 - 19	+.06[a]
		1,004	20 - 49	-.04
		413	50 - 100	-.04
C_1 (Senior High on Senior High)	White	224	0 - 19	.00[b]
		309	20 - 69	.00
C_2 (Junior High on Senior High)	White	298	0 - 19	.00[b]
		235	20 - 69	.00
C_3 (Intermediate on Senior High)	White	265	0 - 19	+.05[b]
		250	20 - 49	-.05
		18	50 - 100	-.03
D_1 (Senior High on Senior High)	Negro	30	0 - 19	-.02[b]
		285	20 - 69	.00
D_2 (Junior High on Senior High)	Negro	5	0 - 19	---[b]
		310	20 - 69	.00
D_3 (Intermediate on Senior High)	Negro	2	0 - 19	---[b]
		179	20 - 49	-.03
		134	50 - 100	+.04

[1] Adapted from Wilson (1967, Tables 21, 24, 28, 29, 30).

[a] Eighth Grade, Differential Aptitude Test, Verbal Reasoning.

[b] Eleventh Grade Henmon-Nelson IQ.

but the effect is negative when the proportion of lower-class students in the school exceeds 20 percent. This trend breaks down for Negro students at the high school level who at this point constitute a select group. The effect of social class composition of the school on performance is further modified by the period of the experience (intermediate, junior high and senior high levels), with the elementary school level appearing as the most effective point for the initiation of integration. The point at which "percent lower-class students in the school" assumes a negative value in relation to achievement cannot be determined precisely from the data given in Wilson's report. However, these and other data given in the present report clearly suggest that the effect of integration on the achievement of lower-status students, both Negro and white, will very likely range from a slight positive effect to a slight negative effect when the percent of lower-status students ranges from 30 to 50. When the percent lower-status students exceeds 50, there does not appear to be any marked increasing negative effect associated with increasing proportions of lower-status students in the school.

All in all, the data indicate that the typical integrated school context is effective for the disadvantaged student when the advantaged student population is very much the majority. Since this trend is consistent in major studies of integration (Coleman et al., 1966; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967), as well as a few less representative studies (Sullivan, 1968; Jaquith, 1967), it would appear that there is a sufficiently strong basis for the formulation of policy concerning educationally desirable proportions of upper- and lower-status students in the typical integrated school.

Some Points of Critique

At the outset of this discussion of Wilson's study, it was shown that a number of important refinements not present in previous studies of interracial education had been introduced. It was further indicated that these refinements allowed greater confidence in interpretations of relationships as possible causal effects and causal chains. Although causal interpretations may appear plausible at this point, a number of cautions appear in order, and are outlined for consideration as follows:

Complexity of Studying the Determinants of Achievement: The analysis of causal relations using a regression model requires meeting a number of assumptions. Some major assumptions which apply in Wilson's analysis are as follows:

(a) The relationships between the causal variables and achievement are linear and additive.

(b) Reciprocal causation between any independent variable and achievement (the dependent variable) can be ruled out.

(c) Outside variables causing achievement are either small in magnitude and relatively numerous, or if there are a few additional major causes of achievement, these variables are uncorrelated with any of the independent variables included in the analysis.

(d) Measurement errors included in the independent variables are negligible.

It is difficult to determine just how well these assumptions were met in Wilson's analysis, but a few major points of discrepancy may be noted. It would appear that the direct effect of school social class composition may be non-linear in its relationship with achievement, and the value of its regression coefficient may thus be underestimated. Moreover, the relationship between this variable and achievement may be partly obscured by the assumption of a linear function.

A second point concerns the ability to satisfy assumptions _b_, _c_ and _d_. An analysis of the causes of achievement in the school context is somewhat analogous to tracing the paths of individual bugs in a swarm. Caution must thus be observed in interpreting the values and significance of the regression coefficients in Wilson's study. The inclusion of a new causal variable, correlated with the current list of independent variables, can result in considerable modification of the current set of relationships. One possible inclusion that could have resulted in such modification would involve adding measures of teacher behavior and other variables relating to the process of instruction which may have differed between schools of different social class levels. Possible differences between schools and classrooms relating to instruction were not treated in Wilson's analysis.

A third point of criticism concerns Wilson's reliance on direct path coefficients, which allow assessment of direct but not total effects of causal variables. If other techniques were used (cf. Blalock, 1961), estimates of total effects of particular variables would have been possible. The effect on Wilson's study was very probably an underestimate of the total effects of certain variables such as social class composition of the school, which had a direct effect and conceivably at least one indirect effect on achievement--through its effect on intellectual development. Since there were likely many direct and indirect effects in Wilson's analyses, relative comparisons of regression coefficients may be made only tentatively until better evidence is available.

The possibility that some relationships might change radically if other variables had been included in Wilson's analyses is suggested by the fact that the total amount of achievement variance accounted for by all factors combined in any analysis was relatively low. Multiple correlations (R) across all analyses ranged from a low of .27 to a high of .60, with a median _R_ roughly between .44 and .45. Thus the degree of prediction of the variance of any dependent variable ranged from about 7.3 percent to 36 percent. The largest amount of predicted achievement variance in any analysis was 36 percent (R = .60), and this analysis included primary grade IQ which appears to have accounted for roughly a third of the predicted variance of achievement. Even excluding this somewhat risky calculation of the contribution of IQ to achievement, it is apparent that, as with the analyses of Coleman _et al_., a large amount of the variation in achievement remains unexplained.

Effects of Desegregation by Classroom and by School

The final study reviewed in this section of Chapter IV is a reanalysis of the Coleman _et al_. data reported by McPartland (1967). In contrast with studies previously treated, McPartland's research attempted to determine whether the effects of interracial schooling proceeded from desegregation at the _school level_ or the _classroom level_.

Data analyzed for the study were obtained from 5,075 ninth grade Negroes in the New England and Middle Atlantic States. Students were cross-classified on three major dimensions: (a) six levels of family background based on mother's education and educational items in the home; (b) four levels of the percent white in the school--0-19, 20-49, 50-69 and 70-99 percent; and (c) four levels of the proportion white in the student's classroom--no whites, less than half whites, half whites, more than half whites.

The dependent variable for the analysis was the student's score on the verbal ability test used in the Coleman et al. study, expressed in standard deviation form. The analytical procedure used in the study allowed assessment of the amount of increase in student achievement obtained in moving from one level of racial isolation by school or class to the next highest level (e.g., from 0 to 19 percent white to 20 to 49 percent white), with each level under consideration averaged across the levels of the variables not under consideration.

The results of the main analyses in McPartland's study are shown in Table 33. The left-hand side of the table indicates the type of comparison being made and the number of comparisons (in parentheses). The right-hand column shows the increment in achievement (standard deviation units) averaged across levels of proportion white in the school or classroom, for each level within these categories.

The first figure in the right-hand column of Table 33 shows that the average increase in achievement across four levels of proportion white in the classroom is .16 standard deviations. The next two figures (both .13 units) show that controlling for either family background or proportion white in the school reduces the average effect of proportion white in the classroom only slightly. This is the first indication that the effect of racial composition on achievement proceeds from the classroom in contrast with the overall student body effect.

The next four figures in the right-hand column of Table 33 show the increments in achievement by level of proportion white in the school, for students matched on family background (proportion white classmates uncon-

Table 33

Effects of Proportion White in the Classroom and Proportion White in the School on Ninth Grade Negro Student Achievement[1]

	Achievement Increment in SD's
Proportion White Classmates (3)	+.16[a]
Proportion White Classmates (family background controlled) (18)	+.13
Proportion White Classmates (family background and percent white in the school controlled) (72)	+.13
0-19% white in school (18)	+.07
20-49% white in school (18)	+.16
50-69% white in school (18)	+.19
70-99% white in school (18)	+.34
Percent White in School (family background and proportion white classmates controlled) (72)	+.02
No white classmates (18)	-.03
Less than half white classmates (18)	-.02
Half white classmates (18)	+.03
More than half white classmates (18)	+.09

[1] Source: McPartland (1967, p. 12).

[a] N = 5,075 for each achievement increment.

trolled). These data show that there is a regular trend of increase in achievement through 70-99 percent whites in the school. The figure of .02 achievement units shows the average effect of these increments associated with proportion white in the school, when both family background and proportion of white classmates are controlled. Thus, on the average, the effect of proportion white in the school on achievement is largely through the proportion of whites in the classroom. This is shown more clearly by the final set of achievement increments by proportion white classmates in Table 33. Here the data show that only those students in classes more than half white experience any meaningful facilitating effect from the experience of desegregation.

Taken together, McPartland's data show that racial composition of the classroom is the key factor in the relationship between desegregation and achievement, and that there is an additional facilitating effect if the desegregated school is predominantly white. Apparently, Negro achievement is facilitated by interracial contact at both the classroom and student body levels, but there is only a very slight relationship between desegregation and Negro achievement in the absence of desegregation at the classroom level. Further analyses performed in the study showed that the relationship between classroom racial composition and achievement was maintained when possible selection processes in the school, such as tracking and program of study, were controlled.

It should be recalled that, using the same data, Coleman et al. found that the relationship between racial composition and achievement in Negro students was largely, if not entirely, a function of social class composition of the school. McPartland's results are thus evidently due to the influences of social class composition of the school and classroom, rather than racial composition. In any event, McPartland's findings add one more dimension to knowledge of the process of desegregation. It is apparent that planning of efforts at school desegregation should take place at the classroom level if any effect is expected.

Adult Consequences of Racial Isolation in the Schools

This final section of the present chapter is a review of three surveys of the relationship between racial isolation in the schools and interracial attitudes and contact among Negro and white adults. The first survey dealt with racial attitudes and related factors among Northern Negroes who had experienced different degrees of racial isolation in the schools. The second survey examined essentially the same questions in a national sample of white adults. The third survey examined interracial attitudes and related factors among Negro and white adults who had graduated from high school in Oakland, California. All three surveys are reported in the Appendices of the RIPS report (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967).

Negro Adult Survey

A representative sample of 1,624 men and women (aged 17 to 54) living in metropolitan areas of the North were interviewed. Questions were asked in five general categories: educational history, family background, occupational history, race relations, self attitudes and attitudes about others. The prime focus of the survey was to compare Negro adults who attended racially desegregated schools with Negro adults who attended racially segregated schools. Attendance in a desegregated school was defined as being in an elementary school for five years, with a student composition of more than half white. All respondents who had not attended schools in the desegregated category were considered to have attended segregated schools. Oversampling was done to insure a large number of Negro adults in the survey who attended racially desegregated schools.

Results of preliminary data analysis showed that 81.7 percent of the respondents who attended segregated schools were born in the South while 71.4 percent of those who attended desegregated schools were born in the North. A control was devised for this difference and respondents were further categorized into five divisions as shown in Table 34.

Table 34

Number of Respondents by Region of Birth and Type School Attended[1]

	No.
1. Born in North, attended desegregated elementary school	282
2. Born in North, attended segregated elementary school	215
3. Born in South, moved North before age 10 and attended desegregated elementary school	113
4. Born in South, moved North before age 10 and attended segregated elementary school	126
5. Born in South, moved North after age 10 and attended—segregated elementary school	832
No answer on one or more parts of question	56
SUBTOTAL	1,624
Spouses of respondents who attended desegregated schools	115
TOTAL	1,739

[1] Source: Appendices, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, p. 212).

For this appraisal of the study, concern will be with the first four groups shown in Table 34. There were no differences among these groups on the average, in family background, except for those born in the South who had slightly lower educational attainments than those born in the North.

The primary objectives of the study were to determine occupational, income, aspirational and attitudinal differences between Negro adults who had attended desegregated schools and Negro adults who had attended segregated schools. Analysis of data collected was limited to tables of cross-tabulations in which regularities among proportions associated with segregated and desegregated schooling were of primary interest. Most of the tables were in a form similar to that shown in Table 35.

Table 35

Percent of Negro Adults...(Variable to be Examined)...
by Education, Type of School Attended and Region of Birth

	Region of Birth and Type of School Attended				
Education	North Desegregated (North)	North Segregated (North)	South Desegregated (North)	South Segregated (South)	South Segregated (North)
Some High School	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
High School Graduate	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
College	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)

The categories of Table 35 are read as follows: North desegregated (North) is born in the North and attended a desegregated elementary school in the North. The N in parentheses is the sample size in a particular cell and the percent is the proportion of the N in the cell who reflect the attitude posed in a particular question. To study relationships with this procedure, one examines relative proportions by cells. For example, if the variable to be examined is "proportion with white friends," one would attempt to determine whether the proportions tend to be higher for the desegregated than for the segregated experience. Levels of education, age and sex, depending on the particular analysis, were included as controls.

This discussion should make it evident that with the technique and methodology used in the survey, one is studying relationships between dimensions--in this case the relationship between segregated versus desegregated schooling and interracial attitudes. In the RIPS report, however, the existence of such relationships is taken as evidence of a causal sequence in which more positive racial attitudes and other "effects" proceed from attendance in a desegregated school as opposed to attendance in a segregated school. Specifically, it was expected that examination of variations in cell proportions would show that the desegregated educational experience, relative to segregated schooling, would be associated in a causal way with more positive attitudes toward whites, higher incomes, living in desegregated neighborhoods, and having white friends.

To bolster such conclusion, particularly implications of causality, necessary steps were neglected. For example, no significance tests were run and the continuum of school experience in various segregated-desegregated settings by proportion of minority group included therein and number of years in schools was not considered in sufficient detail. No controls were made of parental racial attitudes which would appear necessary to determine precise effects of desegregated or segregated school settings on pupils (Proshansky and Newton, 1968, p. 6). A further problem with the study stems from frequent and wide variations in the sample sizes within cells. Relationships noted in the survey may thus reflect in part the effects of sampling errors. More stable results would have been obtained if the sampling were done within segregated and desegregated categories, rather than entirely on a geographical basis.

With these major criticisms in mind, it is appropriate to proceed to the major relationships noted in the study which are summarized as follows:

1. The proportion of "main family earners holding a white collar job" was fairly consistently related to the experience of desegregated schooling, with the tendency leveling off at the college level.

2. Income levels over $6,500 per year (the sample median) did not appear to relate consistently to segregated versus desegregated schooling.

3. Residence in mostly white neighborhoods was consistently and appropriately related to the desegregated experience.

4. Preference for a desegregated neighborhood was consistently related to the experience of desegregated schooling with a tendency for the relationship to be higher if the experience began in the North.

5. Willingness to pioneer to white neighborhoods appeared to be relatively independent of desegregated versus segregated with the South desegregation (North) proportions averaging five to ten percentage points lower than the other three categories.

6. Being a parent with children in desegregated schools was consistently related to the experience of desegregated schooling, with a slight tendency for the relationship to be stronger if the experience began in the North.

7. Being a parent with children in mostly white schools was related to the desegregation experience, but this relationship did not tend to reflect a majority tendency as it did in item 6. Or in other words, Negroes tended to prefer more balanced interracial school settings as opposed to those in which their children would be a clear minority.

8. The proportion of respondents reporting "desegregated schools create hardships for Negro children" was slightly yet consistently related to the experience of segregated schooling, with a tendency for the relationship to be higher if the experience began in the South. The younger group (age 17 to 33) had a higher incidence of "yes" responses than the older group (34 to 54) and evidenced a more consistent relationship to the experience of desegregated versus segregated schooling.

9. "Having no close white friends" was consistently and appropriately related to segregation versus desegregation, with the relationship growing stronger as the education levels descended. The results for this item appear to provide clear indications that the relationships noted in the study may also reflect the possible influences of factors other than the segregated or desegregated educational experience, e.g., the respondents' inheritance in educational background, interracial attitudes, and opportunity for interracial contact accruing from the family experience and place of residence. Since background experiences related to the development of positive inter-

racial attitudes are also more likely to occur in association with desegregated as opposed to segregated schooling, the relationships noted may not necessarily directly reflect the influence of desegregated versus segregated education.

10. Respondents who attended desegregated schools and who also reported "played with white friends" were more likely to report current association with white friends. This relationship, however, was not particularly strong or entirely consistent in relation to segregation versus desegregation. For those who reported they "did not play with whites," the tendency to have current close white friends was less predominant in either the desegregated or segregated categories. The appropriate conclusion here seems to be that having played with whites exerts an important influence on later Negro-white friendships, independently of the segregated versus desegregated schooling dimension.

11. Possession of high self-esteem did not appear to be consistently related to desegregation versus segregation, but was somewhat related to "having a close white friend." At the college level the relationship between self-esteem and segregation versus desegregation or "close white friend" was entirely inconsistent. (Conclusions concerning self-esteem must be regarded with considerable caution since they appear to be highly subject to sampling errors.)[27]

White Adult Survey

The data from this survey were based on a national sampling of the opinions of 1,309 white adults obtained by the National Opinion Research Center in the summer of 1966. Questions related to family background, educational history, and attitudes about race relations and civil rights. One major objective of the survey was to determine whether desegregated versus segregated education was related to interracial contact reported by whites (reports of having close Negro friend, having Negro visit home, and living in neighborhood with Negroes). The second major objective of the study was to determine whether desegregated versus segregated education was related to the extent to which whites professed positive interracial attitudes.

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[27] Additional relationships included in the examination of self-esteem are not discussed here due to the many inconsistencies noted in the results.

Data were presented in 19 cross-tabulation tables of percentages, in a form somewhat similar to those of the Negro adult survey. Three educational levels, grade school, high school and college were used as controls in all comparisons as well as the two birth regions, North and South.

Controls were necessary due to the nature of the data. Northern, well-educated and younger respondents were more likely to report having attended schools with Negroes. Males were slightly more likely than females to report interracial schooling. A further complication was introduced by the determination of a "liberal-conservative" political dimension. This division is based solely on the response to one item: "A lot of professors and government experts have too much influence on too many things these days." (Yes or No). A liberal "No" response appeared to have had some relation to reported previous attendance at a desegregated school, particularly among the better educated. For this reason political attitudes were used as a control in some of the analyses.

The major findings of the survey relating to interracial contact and interracial attitudes are summarized as follows:

1. In almost all comparisons within regional, educational, and sex categories, white respondents who had experienced desegregated education as opposed to segregated education were more likely to have had Negro friends, to have invited Negroes into their homes, and be currently living in an interracial neighborhood. Controlling for age and education in the North did not diminish the relationships. In the South, these trends were found only for those who had resided outside the

region.

2. The survey also computed percentages of approval for respondents who had experienced desegregated or segregated schooling and were (a) willing to accept a Negro on the block (b) willing to accept an equal-status Negro on the block (c) agreed that a Negro had a right to live anywhere. In addition to the desegregated or segregated dichotomy, responses were examined in terms of the respondent's sex, age, whether he had a Negro friend and whether he lived in a biracial neighborhood. In almost all cases more than 50 percent of the Northern respondents, whether having attended segregated or desegregated schools, reported acceptance of (a) a Negro on the block; (b) an equal-status Negro on the block; and (c) that a Negro has the right to live anywhere. Percentages of agreement were often in the 70's and 80's. In the South respondents who had attended desegregated schools not in the South also had a greater than 50 percent rate of acceptance across most categories.

High school and college respondents indicated a greater acceptance of having an equal-status Negro on the block than they did of having just a Negro on the block or agreeing that a Negro had the right to live anywhere. Apparently college and high school respondents believed that, if a Negro had the status credentials commensurate with the neighborhood, he had more of a right to live there.

When Northern male and female grade school and college respondents who had attended desegregated schools were compared with Northern male and female grade school and college students who had attended segregated schools, the students who had attended desegregated schools were found to be more acceptant of interracial housing. This relationship held for Northern female high school girls but not for Northern male high school boys. In the South, desegregated male and female students were more acceptant of interracial housing than segregated male and female students.

Respondents who attended either desegregated or segregated schools and had a Negro friend were more acceptant of interracial neighbors than respondents who attended either a desegregated school and had no Negro friend. Respondents who had a Negro friend and attended segregated schools were much more acceptant of interracial neighborhoods than respondents who attended a desegregated school but had no Negro friend. Respondents who had attended a desegregated school and had a Negro friend expressed about the same degree of acceptance as respondents who had a Negro friend but attended a segregated school. Having a Negro friend thus appears to be more related to acceptance of interracial neighborhoods than is attendance in a segregated or desegregated school.

With the exception of Northern respondents with a grade school education, the percentages of respondents who were acceptant of interracial neighborhoods were greater for those who had lived in a biracial neighborhood than for those who had attended desegregated schools but lived in all-white neighborhoods. When these findings are juxtaposed with the findings about Negro-white friendships, it would appear that interracial living is more salient in forming Negro-white friendships as well as positive interracial attitudes than is desegregated schooling. However, there does appear to be some independent effect for desegregated schooling. For example, the survey found that respondents who had lived in an all-white neighborhood and who had attended a desegregated school were more acceptant of biracial neighborhoods than respondents who had lived in an all-white neighborhood and had attended segregated schools.

3. The survey queried white respondents who had attended either segregated or desegregated schools in order to find out if they differed in attitudes toward discrimination and desegregated schooling. Both male and female respondents who had attended either segregated or desegregated schools in the North and South were highly acceptant of equal job opportunities for Negroes. However, when asked if they favored a law to enforce this equality of job opportunity only about 50 percent of the Northern respondents indicated acceptance and less than 50 percent of the southern respondents indicated acceptance. Respondents from desegregated schools were slightly more positive than respondents from segregated schools. The survey further showed that respondents from desegregated schools were more acceptant of "having a Negro to dinner" than respondents from segregated

schools. Among respondents who attended a segregated school, "having a Negro friend" was related to greater acceptance of "having a Negro to dinner." This same relationship also held for high school and college respondents who had attended desegregated schools. In regard to Negro attendance in all-white schools, Northern respondents were highly favorable, 70 to 83 percent agreement, regardless of whether they had attended desegregated or segregated schools. In the South, those who had attended desegregated schools were much more highly acceptant of Negro students coming to an all-white school. Respondents who had attended a segregated school and had no Negro friends were less acceptant of having Negroes in an all-white school than were respondents who had attended desegregated schools or respondents with a Negro friend.

4. As a final point of interest, the survey attempted to determine if respondents who had attended either desegregated or segregated schools felt differently about Negro protest. Respondents were asked if they (a) approved most Negro protest, (b) thought most protest was peaceful, and (c) thought protest helped the Negro causes. The responses to all three of these questions were highly colored by the respondents levels of education. College people were far more positive about all three categories than were either the high school people or the grade school people. Only among college level respondents was there any substantial relationship between positive attitudes toward protest and prior attendance at a segregated

or desegregated school. Even among the college group where it was most approved, protest was not highly popular since none of the categories ever went much beyond 60 percent approval.

The results of this survey of white respondents indicate that more positive attitudes about biracial housing, equal job opportunity, social contact and school desegregation were related to having had some form of contact with Negroes. Respondents who attended desegregated schools were generally more acceptant than respondents who attended segregated schools. However, other forms of contact with Negroes were also related to positive attitudes. In several instances, respondents who attended segregated schools and had a Negro friend had more positive attitudes than those who had attended desegregated schools but lacked Negro friends. Within either the segregated or integrated school settings, the friendship with Negroes factor seems to exert an important effect on the development of positive interracial attitudes.

Another possible influence on the development of positive interracial attitudes and interracial contact is the biracial neighborhood. Other interpretations of the influences of desegregation, interracial friendship and residential setting on interracial attitudes also apply. For example, it may be that positive interracial attitudes influence choice of residence and thus attendance in a desegregated school, as well as the formation of interracial friendships. Or, the relationships noted may reflect a circular process with attitudes creating the conditions for the development of interracial friendships, leading to a higher plateau in positive interracial attitudes, and so on. It should also be noted that contact within the neighborhood or school does not appear to be a necessary condition for the development of positive interracial attitudes.

Oakland, California, Survey

This is a small study excerpted from the larger study of "Race and Education in the city of Oakland" conducted for the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. The objective of this smaller study was to ascertain how Negro and white children who were educated in the same school system of Oakland, California, differed in terms of the consequences of being in segregated and desegregated schools.

The sample for the study comprised the 1,429 pupils (40 percent) in the 1965 graduating class who had attended public schools in Oakland continuously from first grade. All members were excluded who had either Spanish surnames or who were not either Caucasian or Negro. The resulting population was stratified as follows: desegregated Negroes (attended an elementary school for at least four years with 20 to 50 percent Negro concentration from 1950 to 1960); segregated Negroes (four years in an elementary school with at least 70 percent Negro in 1950 and 85 percent in 1960); desegregated white (same as desegregated Negro); and segregated white (four years in an elementary school, all white between 1950 and 1960). Each group, with the exception of segregated whites, was sampled in total. Response rates ranged from 65 percent to 84 percent for each group with the average being 71 percent. Depth interviews sampled educational aspirations, occupational aspirations, racial attitudes and family background. The control variable used in the study was the educational level of the household head which was categorized four ways: 0 to 8, 9 to 11, 12 and 13 or more years of schooling. Analyses for the study were completed only on Negro respondents. A summary of the findings follows:

1. Respondents who had attended a desegregated school were consistently more positive than those who had attended a segregated school about sending their own children out of the neighborhood to a desegregated school.
2. Except for the case where the household head had 12 years of schooling, respondents who had attended a desegregated school were more willing to move to an all-white neighborhood even if it might create some trouble.
3. Respondents who indicated that there were white people whom they considered as friends were more consistently found among those who had a desegregated educational experience.
4. With the exception of household heads with 0 to 8 years education, respondents who attended desegregated schools, as opposed to those who attended segregated schools, consistently felt that they could trust a white man as much as another Negro.
5. Respondents who expressed "frequent" fear of the occurrence of expressions of white prejudice were more consistently found among those who had a segregated educational experience, with the exception of households heads with 13 or more years of education. For the latter group there was a slight tendency for this response to be related to a desegregated educational experience.

6. Respondents who expressed frequent fear or anger in relation to social interaction with whites were consistently more likely to have attended segregated schools. The overall percentages for the response of "frequently" were small indicating that a small proportion of the population was involved.

The results can be summarized as having shown that Negroes who attended desegregated schools, as opposed to those who attended segregated schools, were more likely to respond that they were willing to send their children to interracial schools, live in biracial neighborhoods, have white friends, and be somewhat more at ease in biracial settings and contact situations.

Summary and Critique of Adult Surveys

The three studies reviewed were undertaken in order to survey Negro and white opinions about various facets of interracial acceptance and contact. Respondents were asked about their feelings toward equal job opportunities, biracial neighborhoods, desegregated schooling, and social relationships between members of different races. They were also asked if their experiences included interracial friendships and living in a birracial neighborhood. Responses were analyzed according to whether or not the respondent had attended a desegregated school. The suggestion was left that if there were differences between respondents who had attended a desegregated school and respondents who had attended a segregated school, the differences could be attributed to having had a different school experience.

This, of course, implies that the segregated or desegregated school experience has resulted in differing responses and behaviors. Such an implication may be inaccurate insofar as these surveys are concerned. The previous statement rests on the fact that the surveys have failed to control for a number of other factors which might have also influenced the responses of the survey participants. In effect, the investigators made the assumption that the only important difference between respondents is whether or not they attended a segregated or desegregated school. It would seem quite likely that a factor such as the attitudes of the respondent's parents would be quite important in his subsequent responses. One may hypothesize further that the background of a Northern Negro attending a desegregated school is somewhat different from that of a Northern Negro attending a segregated school. The Northern Negro in the desegregated school is likely to live on the border of a Negro neighborhood or in a biracial neighborhood. His parents have chosen to live in this particular place possibly indicating that they are positive or at least neutral about coming into contact with whites. This may also reflect that they are of a higher social status since they are not in the heart of a segregated neighborhood of lower status occupants. A respondent coming from this kind of background will probably have quite a different viewpoint and set of experiences than his counterpart who lives a more rigidly segregated life and has parents with a different set of attitudes. These two respondents are not equal to begin with, and under these circumstances it is impossible to tell how much of the differences in their responses is due to having attended a desegregated or segregated school.

Another difficulty with the surveys is that the number of respondents falling into certain categories is frequently so small that not much credence can be placed on generalizations based on so few responses. A further weakness of the surveys is that interracial experience was examined mostly in retrospect, and the accuracy of the findings are thus dependent on memory and on subjective interpretation.

In the case of the two surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, a question is raised about the validity of the method employed to classify respondents into the segregated or desegregated categories. It was decided that respondents who had attended an elementary school at least four or five years (depending on the survey) in a desegregated setting would be classified as desegregated. All other patterns of school attendance were classified as segregated. Were a respondent to attend two years of elementary school in a desegregated setting and then spend six years in a desegregated secondary school, he would still be classified as segregated. His responses would be thrown in and counted equally with the responses of another participant who may have spent his entire school career in a segregated setting. It is impossible to tell to what extent this kind of thing occurred, but it does seem likely that this may have influenced the results which were obtained.

This may help to explain why the results frequently did not show wide disparities between respondents who had attended desegregated schools and respondents who had attended segregated schools. Often considerably less than ten percentage points separated the two groups. Nevertheless, there was a consistent trend which indicated that respondents who attended desegregated schools had more positive attitudes toward interaction with members of a differing race and more often accepted and desired contact with members of the other race. The results also clearly indicated that the factor of friendship with a member of another race may act as a mediating variable which crosses the segregated-desegregated barriers and is shown to be related to positive attitudes about members of another race. It can be concluded that experiences which provide for interracial contact are likely to be related to positive changes in attitudes and desire for contact concerning members of a different race. A desegregated school is one of the means of providing interracial contacts. Further study of the conditions under which desegregation in the schools is related to either negative or positive changes in interracial attitudes and contact is needed.

Implications and Conclusions

We shall avoid reiteration of the many methodological criticisms made of the studies reviewed in this chapter and proceed directly to a series of generalizations, many of which were supported in more than one study. The relationships stated are not properly interpreted as: If A is changed or manipulated, then there will be a corresponding change in B. Precise causes of achievement, attitudes, and other educationally relevant variables have not been determined. For example, one might be tempted to conclude that, if a group of lower-class Negro students were transferred to a predominantly upper-status white school, then some substantial effect would accrue to the achievement levels of the integrated Negro minority. However, any effects of social class composition of the school in this hypothetical situation would not result from some osmotic process whereby the Negro minority takes on the characteristics of the majority group, but is very likely a slow and cumulative process resulting most directly from complex social and cognitive interactions in the classroom setting. Virtually nothing is known of the nature of the interactions of these phenomena in the biracial classroom, and such interactions are undoubtedly further modified by events in the community and family. The generalizations which appear below are thus properly interpreted as tentative formulations of certain types of gross conditions, which in all likelihood should be created or modified in order to provide the kind of school setting wherein a facilitating educational climate can be made possible for the disadvantaged student. There is no guarantee that such facilitation would occur, except perhaps on the average. The statements made are further limited to Northern Negroes and whites, with limited reference made to Puerto Ricans, when justified by the data available.

1. With the exception of Puerto Rican students, *it is unlikely that extensive changes in school and teacher quality will substantially facilitate educational and intellectual development in students in the lower social classes*. Such changes refer to qualitative manipulations made along traditional lines, such as upgrading the curriculum, hiring more intelligent teachers, and improving facilities. Findings reported in other chapters indicate a massive reorientation of educational approaches before the school can have any practical effect on educational development in such groups as the lower-class Negro student.
2. *The social class composition of the school has been established as an educationally relevant dimension, with substantial implications for the educational and social development of socially and economically disadvantaged students in general*. Negro and Puerto Rican students are much more likely to be subjected to any negative effects resulting from school social class composition, since they are more likely to attend schools consisting of predominantly lower class students at the elementary school level, where it appears to make the most difference. White students are also likely to be affected by attendance in predominantly lower-status

schools although to a lesser extent than disadvantaged Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Ability grouping and tracking within schools is likely to result in the creation of academic programs along social class and/or ethnic lines, thus resulting in essentially the same educationally debilitating situation as that created by the existence of schools isolated by race and social class. Since the probable negative effects of social class composition are primarily through the classroom, and ability grouping is a very widespread educational practice, the implications of the research findings in this area should be considered in relation to any practices which tend to result in homogeneous social class groupings in classrooms in all schools.

3. Manipulation of the social class composition of the schools, (transfer of lower-status minority group students to upper status schools) for the express purpose of achieving equality of educational opportunity, is likely to be educationally effective for the disadvantaged minority group student if at least three initial conditions are met:
    a. The proportion of lower-status students in the school does not exceed roughly 30 percent.
    b. The transfer of lower-status students to predominantly upper-status schools occurs initially at the elementary school level; presumably the earlier the better at this level.
    c. The proportion of lower-status students in any given classroom is a reflection of statement a

(a is unlikely to create appropriate educational conditions for the transferred minority group student unless the proportion of lower-status students in individual classrooms is relatively low.

4. Positive changes in educationally relevant attitudes in minority group students, particularly the "sense of control over the environment," are more likely to occur if such students attend predominantly upper-status schools. Since the sense of control over one's environment and other academically relevant attitudes may contribute to achievement independently of other factors (e.g. family background and school social class composition), they represent additional factors which may be subject to educational and psychological manipulation. Two factors which appear to affect sense of control in complex ways are school success and attendance in predominantly lower-status schools. A complex of psychological factors, including sense of control, academic success, asocial acts, temporal orientation, academic motivation, orientation toward immediate versus delayed reward, and commitment to predominant middle class values, appear to be affected in part by attendance in predominantly lower-status schools as opposed to attendance in predominantly upper-status schools. Although the relationships among these variables are in need of more definitive study, it appears that the failure of the schools to provide equality of educational opportunity is part of a complex set of causes resulting eventually in the much higher rate of asocial behav-

ior and academic failure existing among disadvantaged minority group adolescents and adults.

5. The social and economic background of the disadvantaged minority group student does not appear to exert any effect on achievement, independently of ability factors, family background and school social class composition. *This finding suggests that the local social and economic context of the student's life will not interfere with the level of academic success that might be expected when disadvantaged students are transferred to predominantly upper-status schools*.
6. *The racial composition of the school appears to have a slight (or no) relation to educational development in either whites or Negroes*. Strategies for school integration must then take into account social class balance of the school if any effect is to be expected on the educational development of disadvantages minority group students. Integration strategies which reflect the local distribution of ethnic minorities (in some instances a majority) may be irrelevant if the goal of such strategies is the creation of equality of educational opportunity. *It is possible that integration strategies could be generally harmful to the educational development of all student groups involved, if the result of such strategies is the creation of schools which approach a proportion of one-half lower-status students*. The creation of such schools may result in negative effects on the educational development of lower-status students in a previously facilitating educational climate, where the social class

balance was initially within the appropriate range. Overall achievement may possibly be even further decelerated with increases in the proportion of lower-status students beyond the 50 percent point, although this question needs further study.

7. It is evident from the results of all studies reviewed (See also Chapter VI) that *the achievement levels of disadvantaged minority group students still remain substantially below that of advantaged whites, even with attendance in upper-status majority-white classrooms and schools*. One factor which appears to exert a major initial and continuing influence on educational development in Negro and white students alike is initial intelligence level. Similarly, family social class level appears to exert an important influence on student achievement, although this was more evident for whites than Negroes. *The years prior to school attendance thus represent an important point for educational intervention for disadvantaged minority group students*. It may also prove possible to circumvent some of the initial and continuing influences of family status on intellectual and educational development through appropriate strategies.
8. The findings relating desegregated and segregated schooling to interracial attitudes and contact reviewed in this chapter must be considered as suggestive only due to a variety of serious methodological weaknesses in the studies reviewed. One particularly important relationship does appear to stand out from the Coleman *et al*. data: *the establish-*

ment of Negro-white friendships may be an important factor through which some of the possible effects of the integrated school environment are translated into a reorientation of the lower-status Negro student toward academic values and active participation in the predominant academic environment. The suggestive findings in this area tentatively establish the development of interracial friendship and understanding as one of the important conditions in the development of a facilitative educational climate for the disadvantaged Negro student. (A more detailed discussion of interracial attitudes and associations in relation to educational development in the desegregated school setting is given in Chapter V.

9. The educational implications of the research findings which establish the social class composition of the school as an educationally relevant dimension are interpretable in relation to current instructional procedures of the schools which heavily emphasize group processes in the learning situation. *Instructional procedures which de-emphasize the role of the classroom group in instruction may produce a different set of values in the relationship between individual and group social status and achievement*.

CHAPTER V

STUDIES OF INTEGRATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The main focus of this chapter is a critical review of studies of school integration initiated and evaluated by local school districts. Basically, these studies examined a number of issues of particular relevance to the school districts in which they were initiated, with major interest in the question: Does integration facilitate educational development in Negro children relative to educational development of Negro students in _de facto_ segregated schools? It is probable that the initiating force for many of these local experiments in school integration was in part the findings of Coleman _et al_. which indicated that segregated schools, whether _de jure_ or _de facto_, represented an educationally undesirable situation. The studies examined here represent a somewhat different kind of evidence than that provided by Coleman _et al_. in that integration was a new experience resulting from a local decision, as contrasted with studies of existing variations in proportion white in the schools resulting from educational policy and/or regional representation of the major racial and socioeconomic groups of the nation. The reports reviewed in this chapter are thus much more relevant to individual concerns of what might be expected to happen when integration programs are initiated in areas of the nation where there is no direct legal press to create equality of educational opportunity through school desegregation.[28]

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[28] No regular distinction is made in this chapter between the

A second focus of this chapter is on studies of the relationship between interracial education and interracial acceptance. Relatively little hard data were available relating directly to this question. The present review thus brings together various theoretical positions, the few studies which are directly relevant to the problem and those studies which partially reflect on or are parallel with the problem. The question of interracial acceptance appears to be of increasingly crucial significance as interracial education continues to be a major goal of American education, and as student groups in many locales become more vocal in their requests for equality and a share in the decisions which affect them in the schools. Further than this, an understanding of the nature of the social interaction process between students and teachers and among students is particularly crucial in an educational system which places very heavy reliance on group processes in the transmission of information, learning, attitude development and socialization.

For logic and to some extent meaningfulness in presentation, the present review has been organized into a number of major sections and subsections. The first major section presents a review of studies of integration and achievement of Negro students, with the major subdivisions being elementary and secondary level programs, type of transfer program (e.g., open enrollment, bussing from city to suburb), length of the integration experience and the influence of school social class composition and proportion white in the school on student performance. Additional major

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desegregated school and the integrated school. Although conceptual distinctions are relatively easily made between the two terms, it is impossible to make such distinctions on the basis of the information made available in research reports. Generally, the term integration is used when referring to racial mixing existing in the schools reported in the studies reviewed. The term desegregation is ordinarily used to refer to the decision making process prior to the accomplishment of integration.

sections consider evidence on the effect of integration on achievement of white students and on the quality of the instructional program, and the already mentioned treatment of integration and interracial acceptance.

In preparing this review, efforts were made to gather studies of school integration in which attempts had been made to institute at least minimal controls (e.g., equating for initial ability, initial achievement, differences between schools and so on). Ideally, studies of integration should be based on the formation of equivalent comparison groups, using randomization procedures, which are then assigned by chance to treatments or variations on the integration theme. Additional controls might still be required for essentially irrelevant factors such as community characteristics, quality of schools, facilities and teachers. At appropriate time intervals, measurements would be taken, and it would then be possible to draw some conclusions concerning the gross effects of the integration experience. Since refined experimental control is the exception rather than the rule in studies conducted in the school context, the researcher usually resorts to statistical control or obtains as many measurements of relevant factors as he can. In both of these instances the procedures involve a complex sorting-out of effects and relationships in the context of many variables operating simultaneously, frequently in confusing ways (e.g. the Coleman et al. analyses). The studies examined in this section of the report may be generally characterized as considerably less sophisticated than any of these research models. The reader should then view the findings of many of the studies reported in this section with these cautions in mind.

It has already been noted that the studies examined in this chapter generally tended to proceed from local needs. As a result of this, the integration variable has been manipulated in several ways. Most of the studies compare students who were integrated with those who were not. In some instances, however, a study has been reported which cites achievement for a group before integration and achievement after integration with no comparison group. In addition to this, in at least one study, the two groups under examination were both integrated. In the course of this report, efforts will be made to inform the reader of situations in which the variables have been handled in ways which preclude reasonable comparability of integrated and non-integrated groups.

Achievement of Negro Students in Integrated Schools

This section is a review of studies of the achievement levels of Negro students under a variety of conditions of integration. The criterion of achievement in nearly all instances examined is derived from scores on standardized tests, which include norms based on the performance of the general population to which the tests are directed. The studies reviewed are grouped in relation to the following dimensions: elementary and secondary levels; type of transfer program--open enrollment, transfer within the city, bussing from city to suburb; length of time integrated; and the effects of school social class composition and proportion white in the school on the efficacy of the integration experience. Most of the studies included in this review compared the achievement levels of integrated Negro students with comparable students in a segregated school setting, while a few compared achievement growth of integrated Negroes with the amount of achievement growth that would be expected on the basis of elapsed time and test norms. There is some variation among studies in the meaning of "segregated school or student," but the term may generally be taken to mean attendance in a school in which nearly all the students are Negro or nearly all Negro and Puerto Rican. Such schools generally also contain student bodies which would be classified as predominantly lower-status and would thus be referred to as disadvantaged schools. The majority-white or receiving schools generally tend toward a student body which is predominantly middle- or upper-middle class, with only small proportions of socially and economically disadvantaged students.

Studies of Integration at the Elementary School Level

For many communities, the intensity of segregation is greatest at the elementary school level. Here segregated housing patterns and the neighborhood school combine to produce elementary schools that are typically highly segregated. As a result, studies of integration have been most numerous at the elementary school level. In one of the earliest studies undertaken, Samuels (1958) compared achievement in a number of segregated and desegregated schools. He found that while desegregated first and second grade Negro students initially fell behind their segregated counterparts, they eventually caught up. Integrated Negro students in the upper primary grades surpassed their segregated counterparts in achievement. After desegregation of the Louisville schools, Stallings (1959) examined scholastic performance. He found that in the second year of desegregation, the achievement of Negro children improved by amounts greater than would be normally expected. Examination of records for the nine previous school years revealed no examples of similar gains. These results appear to pertain to both elementary and secondary children since the two were lumped together in the data analysis. In addition to this, Stallings simply grouped all Negro students together, whether in segregated or integrated settings, and analyzed their achievement. It would appear that the atmosphere created by having some integration may have had a general motivational effect on the whole Negro student population.

Another study similar to Stallings' was reported by Carl Hansen (1960), superintendent of the Washington, D.C., schools. In this study, the achievement of Negro pupils at both the elementary and secondary levels after four years of integration improved from what it had been before integration. Once again, there was no comparison between a group of Negro students who were integrated and a group who were not. The results simply indicated that after integration, achievement was substantially improved, relative to achievement levels recorded for previous years. It must be noted, however, that Washington, D.C., does not have many schools in which the percentage of whites is high and that in the years following desegregation, substantial efforts were made to upgrade the system's instructional program. Thus, the effects of integration cannot be clearly separated from other relevant factors operating at the same time.

Wrightstone, McClelland and Forlano (1966) reported another study in which the effects of integration were examined but not in relation to a similar nonintegrated group. In this case, highly segregated Negro and Puerto Rican elementary schools, grades one through six, were paired with highly segregated white elementary schools in order to produce a combination that would be racially balanced. Pretest and post test achievement differences were then examined on the basis of whether the students were formerly in predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican schools or whether they had been in predominantly white schools. Analyses of Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT) scores indicated greater growth in reading on the part of the Negro students from predominantly white schools (Puerto Ricans also included) relative to those from predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican schools, although the growth was not always equivalent to the amount that would be expected to occur on the basis of elapsed time. This was especially true among the slower students. The students in the upper quartiles showed the greatest amount of growth with many exceeding the amount expected according to elapsed time. Scores on the MAT Arithmetic Problem Solving subtest showed greater gains for Negro students in grades three, four, five and six than would be expected on the basis of elapsed school time. Since Negro students are generally shown to fall further and further behind in terms of grade level scores, the data which show Negro students almost maintaining their levels or gaining on them may be viewed positively (cf. Coleman et al., 1966).

Another report produced by the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO, 1968) is similar to the Wrightstone report in that once again there was no comparison group of segregated students. In this case, the achievement scores of 66 Boston elementary grade students who were bussed to outlying schools were compared to the achievement level that could be expected according to elapsed school time. The children showed improvement in arithmetic, but the most dramatic gains were found in language where after an elasped time of six months, the integrated students gained nine months in reading, thirteen months in spelling and nine months in vocabulary knowledge.

In a more controlled study of integration in New Rochelle, Wolman (1964) found no significant differences in achievement between equivalent groups of integrated students and segregated students in grades one through five (MAT reading scores). Apparently, Negro children in this first to fifth grade bracket achieved at the same rate whether integrated or not. This was not the case, however, in the kindergarten where integrated Negro children scored significantly higher on the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test.

In another study of integration at the elementary school level, Long (1968) carefully controlled a number of variables which have been ignored in many of the other research designs. Using kindergarten, first and second grade students whose intelligence and social class background were controlled for and who attended schools that were comparable in facilities, personnel and educational programs, Long found no significant differences between integrated and nonintegrated Negro students. His results indicate essentially the same negative findings as those reported by Wolman, with the exception that, at the kindergarten level, the results for integrated Negro students were also negative. Accordingly, he found that integration per se was not related to higher achievement, but that intelligence and student social class background were.

Like New Rochelle, Berkeley (Sullivan,1968) also had a number of elementary schools with large concentrations of Negro students, 250 of whom were transported to less utilized schools in Berkeley's foothills and hills. After the duration of the school year, transferred and nontransferred students were given achievement tests, and the results showed higher average gains for the students who were bussed In addition, the bussed children made greater gains than they had in previous years, and their gains were greater than would be expected on the basis of average measured intelligence.

In the past several years, Syracuse has had several integration projects. The first was a Federally sponsored program for elementary children; the second was a locally initiated junior high program, and the third was also locally initiated but occurred at the elementary school level. In reporting on the third project, Jaquith (1967) indicates that one of two highly segregated Negro elementary schools was closed and the students were bussed to schools with existing unused classroom space. By random selection methods, two groups were constituted from the bussed students and the students who were left in the one remaining highly segregated elementary school. When reading achievement scores were examined, there were some instances of statistically significant improvements for the bussed students. In addition to this, during the second year, the amount of growth in reading achievement for the bussed children was about double that of the control group. Results of this project and the other ones convinced Syracuse Board members and school officials that pupil transfer to promote integration was a necessary undertaking.

Mahan (1968) reported on the results of bussing in Hartford, Boston, Rochester and White Plans. Since the Boston and Rochester studies are covered separately in this report and information about achievement in White Plains is very incomplete, only the Hartford project will be considered at this time. According to Mahan, Hartford's Project Concern was an effort to determine whether Negro students from highly segregated elementary schools, 85 percent or more nonwhite, would improve in achievement if they were bussed to white schools in five towns outside Hartford. The design of the Hartford project was such that two randomly selected groups of Negro students were established and comparisons were made between those who were bussed and those who remained in segregated settings. Mahan reported that when the two groups were given achievement tests, the students bussed to the suburbs showed a "...growth pattern in achievement and mental ability that was clearly and significantly superior to their controls... (p. 298)." In addition to this, the achievement growth of the bussed students exceeded normative expectations and reversed the trend of falling further behind national grade level norms. As Mahan indicates, these results are based upon only a one-year trial, and final judgement must be reserved until more time has passed and there is an opportunity for the results to be replicated.

In November 1965, the schools of Buffalo, New York, transferred 560 kindergarten through seventh grade children from two inner-city, highly segregated schools to 17 peripheral schools in the city where the student population was predominantly white (Dressler, 1967). Prior to transfer, all second grade children were given the Paragraph Meaning and Word Meaning sections of the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT), Primary Level. The average scores on the above tests were 1.8 and 1.7 respectively, whereas the grade norm was 2.2. In November 1966, 54 of the transferred students attending peripheral schools were retested. At the same time, 60 randomly selected third grade students who had remained in the segregated setting were retested. The segregated group had a slightly lower median achievement level to begin with, and other aspects of their score distribution were dissimilar to the experimental group score distribution. Consequently, it cannot be assumed that the two groups were equivalent to begin with. While this must be considered, it should also be mentioned that the transferred students did make far greater gains than did the remaining segregated students. It is also true that the average difference between the scores of the segregated students and the norms became much greater. For the transferred students, this difference grew only slightly on the Paragraph Meaning test and diminished slightly on the Word Meaning test.

Rochester, New York, is another school system which has undertaken a number of programs to improve racial imbalance within its schools. The earliest of these was an Open Enrollment program which was begun in 1963 and was subsequently taken up for examination by Rentsch (1966). Under the open enrollment plan, approximately 500 kindergarten through sixth grade students were transferred from schools with an average nonwhite enrollment of 90.3 percent to 18 schools having an average nonwhite enrollment of 1.6 percent. When Rentsch decided to pose some research questions about the project, it had already been underway for a year, and it was necessary for him to make a number of adjustments which resulted in some problems in equivalence of the comparison groups included in the study. Rentsch took the existing group and constituted the population for his study in two different ways. Under the first method, he initially took students who had applied for and received transfer and then he took a like number who had applied for but not received transfer. Following this, he employed statistical techniques that would account for various differences existing between the two groups at the outset. Under the second procedure, he took a group of kindergarten through fifth grade transferred students and matched them with a similar group of students who were not transferred. When comparisons on reading achievement were made for groups constituted by the first procedure, some significant differences were found in favor of the transferred students. However, when the data were compared for the groups constituted under the second procedure, no significant differences were found, and the suggestion is left that in reality there were no differences in reading achievement between students who transferred and students who remained in a segregated setting. No differences in arithmetic achievement were found except at the fifth grade level where transfers scored significantly better. However, it should be noted that fifth grade testing took place only four months after the initiation of the program.

A second Rochester program, begun at the time the Open Enrollment study was underway, involved the bussing of students from a highly segregated inner-city elementary school to the almost totally white suburban school district of West Irondequoit (Rock, Goldberg, Lang and Heinrich, 1967). The program began in September 1965 with 25 first grade children from an inner-city school being bussed to six neighborhood elementary schools in West Irondequoit. The following year, September 1966, a second group of 25 first graders began the same experience. In both instances, experimental and control groups were randomly selected from a pool of 60 to 70 incoming first graders who had been judged as average or above average achievers by their kindergarten teachers. Initial achievement differences remaining between the groups after this procedure were taken into account by making adjustments on the basis of initial achievement scores. An evaluation took place at the end of the first and second years for the first group and at the end of the first year for the second group, using the Metropolitan Readiness Tests, the MAT Primary I Battery, the MAT Primary II Battery and the Science Research Associates (SRA) Reading Achievement Tests for the first group only.

The results showed that the second group of experimental first graders began their integrated schooling behind their controls on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests. By May, the experimental group equalled or exceeded the control group in terms of grade placement on every subtest of the MAT Primary Battery. Except for the case of control group performance in arithmetic achievement, both the experimental and control groups per- at or above grade placement on all subtests. In terms of statistical significance, the experimental group outperformed the control groups on both the word discrimination and arithmetic subtests of the MAT.

The data on achievement performance of students in the first group at the end of the first year were comprised of the results of two tests. On the MAT, there were no significant differences between the experimental and control groups. On the second test, the SRA Reading Achievement Test, there were significant differences in favor of the experimental group in language perception, reading comprehension and reading vocabulary.

When this first group was again tested at the end of the second year, only the MAT was used. At this time, there were significant differences in favor of the experimental group on the arithmetic subtest. All other differences were nonsignificant. With exception of control group performance in arithmetic, both groups scored above grade placement on all sections of the achievement tests. The data indicate that select (higher ability) students in an integrated setting do slightly better than select students in a segregated setting and that both do relatively well.

In the most recent study undertaken by Rochester (Rock, Goldberg, Knapp and Lang, 1968), comparisons were made between students in integrated city schools, students in integrated inner-city schools and students in integrated outer-city schools. The comparisons were made on the basis of the scores received on the various achievement tests which are given in each of the grades. The tests were initially given in October 1967 and then again in May 1968. The October 1967 scores served to identify initial differences between the various groups. Covariance adjustments were made for the initial differences in achievement levels between groups obtained in the October 1967 testing. By adjusting final scores in this way, the assumption is made that the various groups become equal, and the differences which are noted on the post test will be due to the differing treatments received by the various groups. In this case, it is assumed that by accounting for initial differences and then providing an integration or segregation treatment, it will be possible to determine if students do better in an integrated or segregated setting. The problem that exists within this framework is that while these students are being treated in an integrated or segregated setting, many other factors may impinge on the situation and prevent a clearcut answer. Such things as teacher quality, building facilities, programs, school social class composition and others could account for some or maybe even all of the differences which were found. A truly rigorous study would have to control for these other influences, but in many school situations it is not possible, and the study under discussion reflects this. Nevertheless, within these limitations, the study does provide some results which merit consideration.

In the report, the comparisons between segregated students and integrated students were made in answer to a series of questions. The first question treated here was: How does the achievement of Negro pupils attending a school with small class size (K-third grade mean class size was 14.5) compare, first, with the achievement of Negro pupils in racially integrated classes at an inner-city school and, second, with the achievement of Negro pupils in racially integrated classes in outer-city schools? The results of the comparisons are as follows: There was no instance in which Negro students, as a group, in segregated small classes attained significantly better scores than did the Negro students in integrated classrooms. In the inner-city school, integrated students achieved significantly better reading scores in grade one and significantly better word knowledge and reading scores in grade two, compared with segregated students in small classes. Negro students who transferred to outer-city schools achieved significantly better scores in reading at the third grade level than did Negro students in small classes in the segregated school. All other comparisons of achievement on the various subtests of the MAT given in grades one and two and the New York State tests given in grade three were non-significant.

Another of the questions examined was: How does the achievement of Negro pupils in racially integrated classes in outer-city schools compare with the achievement of Negro pupils in classes almost completely Negro at an inner-city school? The inner-city school children who attended classes which were almost all Negro came from two schools. The first school, Number Two, was new and somewhat integrated, although a majority of the students were still Negroes, and many of the classes remained segregated. The second school, Number Four, had a 98 percent Negro enrollment according to the 1966 racial census. At grade one, transfer students did significantly better on the arithmetic subtest of the MAT than students in either of the segregated settings. At grade three, the transfer students did significantly better on the reading section of the New York State Achievement Test than students in either of the segregated settings.

At grade four, transfer students from School Three were combined with transfers from School Two. This became the transfer group to be compared to students in segregated classes in School Two. School Four was not used. In this case, the Iowa Achievement Tests were used, and the segregated students in School Two did significantly better than the transferred students in vocabulary, capitalization, arithmetic concepts and arithmetic problem solving. The testing in grade five showed no significant differences on the Iowa test between the transfers and the students remaining in segregated classes in School Two. In grade six, the New York State tests were used and School Four was again used. No significant differences were found between students who transferred and students who remained in a segregated setting. The overall results indicate that somewhat greater gains were made by transferred students who were compared to students remaining in a segregated setting. In the fourth grade, students in segregated classes in School Two outperformed transfer students on several subtests. In no case did students in the most highly segregated school, School Four, outperform transferred students.

Another important question asked in the study was: Within the same school, how does the achievement of Negro pupils in racially integrated classes compare with the achievement of Negro pupils in classes almost completely Negro in enrollment? The scores received by kindergarteners revealed no significant differences between the two groups. Similar results were obtained when the children in grade one were given the MAT. In grade two, a number of differences were found with the children in the integrated classrooms scoring significantly better in word knowledge, word discrimination, reading and spelling. In grade three, no significant differences were found between the two groups on the New York State tests of reading and arithmetic achievement. The analysis of the data for grade four showed that the integrated students performed significantly better on the Iowa vocabulary, spelling, arithmetic concepts and problem solving tests. In grades five and six, there were no differences between the two groups on the Iowa and New York achievement tests respectively.

When the results of all these elementary school studies were reviewed, there was only one instance in which there was superior achievement on the part of students in a segregated school as compared with students in an integrated school. In all other cases, there was either no significant difference in achievement between students in an integrated setting and students in a segregated setting or students in an integrated setting outperformed students in a segregated setting. Overall this would indicate that the Negro student in an integrated elementary school setting has a better chance of attaining higher achievement than his segregated counterpart.

Integration at the Secondary Level

Studies of integration at the secondary level (grades 7 through 12) do not appear to be as numerous as studies at the elementary level. In spite of this, it has been possible to gather together several studies which provide information about the effects of integration on Negro achievement at the secondary level.

Carl Hansen (1960), in his review of achievement since the integration of the Washington, D. C., Public Schools, claims that substantial gains "resulted from integration." These findings are based on two kinds of data. The first compared Stanford achievement scores of successive groups of students who were in the eighth and ninth grades during the five year period. The assumption was made that year by year, students in a particular grade are basically alike and that if their scores tend to increase abruptly at a particular point in time it is because of something that the school is doing. Within this framework, scores in the eighth and ninth grades during a five-year period showed a substantial improvement over what they had been for a previous five-year period. The second type of data treatment, performed on students beyond the ninth grade, involved comparing the percentile scores on the Iowa Test of Educational Development obtained at one point with the percentile scores obtained two years later. Since percentile scores measure position relative to others in the same classification, if they are higher two years later, this indicates greater performance than would normally be expected. On this basis, fairly substantial gains in basic social concepts and correctness of expression, amounting to as much as a gain of 23 percent in percentile rank were made in almost all cases during this two-year period. Once again, however, caution is advisable in interpreting these results because some of the assumptions made may not be tenable, and in addition to this, there was no unintegrated control group which could be used for comparison. Furthermore, the extent of integration must have been somewhat limited in terms of the number of whites per classroom, since at the time the study occurred, 76 percent of Washington's students were Negro.

In Syracuse, the effects of integration on 30 junior high school pupils were studied by comparing their achievement during the year before integration and during the year after integration. Jaquith (1967) reported that, "It shortly became obvious to all concerned that most of the 30 students so transferred showed a significant and in several cases, a dramatic improvement in their levels of educational achievement (p. 4)." All of these students had been sent to a predominantly white, high-achieving, junior high school. No statistical data are provided nor is there an indication of what measures were used, but Jaquith reports that on the basis of these results the Board of Education decided to draw up plans designed to further eliminate segregated schooling.

Neil Sullivan (1968) in his report of an integration project undertaken by the Berkeley school system concluded that "...average teacher grades achieved by the tenth grade students who experienced the new desegregated seventh and eighth grade school and the desegregated separate ninth grade campus of the high school were generally better than the average of those who did not (p. 150)." It was also found that those students who had been integrated in the earlier grades continued to improve in their average grades over those who had not been integrated. While this does give some information about the effects of integration on Negro achievement, it must be pointed out that teacher grades are not a good basis for comparing treatment groups, and it is also quite possible that the comparison groups were not equal to begin with.

In a somewhat more controlled study, conducted by Banks and DiPasquale (1969) in the Buffalo school system, segregated students in the fifth, sixth and seventh grades were tested with the SAT in June 1967, and then again in June 1968, after a selected group had been in integrated classrooms for a year. Twelve hundred Negro students were bussed to schools whose student population was primarily white. Testing in June 1967 and June 1968 yielded scores for 3,051 pupils who were divided as follows: white students in integrated schools, Negro students in integrated schools and Negro students remaining in segregated schools. To be included in the final analysis a student had to have taken both the pretest and post test. Adjustments in the final scores were made, using covariance procedures, on the basis of differences between groups on the initial test.

The findings indicated that the integrated Negro students made greater gains in achievement growth than their segregated counterparts. No significance tests were done on the differences, however. Of interest also is a further comparison of growth rates which was based on a redivision of white students in these integrated but largely white schools. This comparison was made between the growth rates of white students who were in an integrated school but remained in segregated classes, 0 to 5 percent Negro, and the growth of Negro students in integrated classes of from 10 to 30 percent Negro. The segregated whites started the year ahead of integrated Negroes and ended the year ahead of them, but there was no significant difference between the rates of achievement growth for the two groups. This meant that instead of falling further behind white students in grade level achievement, as is often the case, the group of Negro students in classes 10-30 percent Negro maintained their position growing at a rate equivalent to the segregated white groups.

As can be seen from the reviews of the preceding studies, the evidence about the effects of integration on Negro student achievement at the secondary level is hardly sufficient to attempt to make any definitive statement. All that can honestly be said is that there is absolutely no indication that integrated Negro students achieved less well than their segregated counterparts, and there is some indication that they achieved at higher levels. Obviously, what is needed is a number of rigorous studies that will yield results which can be interpreted with greater confidence.

Negro Achievement in Open Enrollment Programs

Open enrollment has been one of the methods used to decrease racial segregation within a school system. Under this plan, students are free to transfer to any school in the district providing the school has room for them. Depending on the situation, the transportation costs may either be borne by the school district or the parents of the child. Naturally, in the case of the latter, this does a great deal to inhibit pupil transfer since the parents of children who are most likely to transfer are usually quite poor. A number of cities have established open enrollment programs, but from a review of the literature only two appeared to have studied the effect of integration on the achievement of pupils participating in this program. In the first of these studies, Wolman (1964) analyzed the achievement scores of students who voluntarily transferred under New Rochelle's open enrollment program. She found that the transfers in grades one through five "...showed a pattern of growth consistent with those for comparable socioeconomic and ethnic groups (p. 30)." That is, there appeared to be no facilitating effect for open enrollment. The results for the kindergarten transfers showed them achieving significantly higher on the Metropolitan

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Readiness Test than two other nontransfer groups with whom they were compared.

Rochester (Rentsch, 1966; Rock et al, 1968) is another school district which has had an open enrollment plan. Under this program the school district paid the transportation costs of those who wanted to transfer. When the plan was first offered many more students than could be accommodated applied for transfer. While this was no doubt disappointing to many, it enabled Rentsch to work out a reasonable design to analyze the study a year after it had begun. He was able to develop comparison groups by sorting out Negro pupils who had applied for transfer and been denied, and Negro pupils who applied for transfer and received it. Covariance procedures were used to factor out the influence of initial achievement differences on final performance. The results, discussed more fully in a previous section, indicated that there were no significant differences between the achievement levels of the integrated Negro children who transferred and the segregated Negro children who applied for transfer but were denied.

In a later Rochester study by Rock et al. (1968), 273 kindergarten through sixth grade students were bussed on a volunteer basis from an inner-city school to sixteen outer-city schools. The bussed students were compared to students who remained in classes almost completely Negro in the school the transfers left. This school was new, had special programs and had a number of white pupils who had voluntarily transferred in. Both groups of students were tested at the beginning and end of the year. At grade one the transfers did significantly better in arithmetic achievement on the MAT. At grade three, the next grade at which test information was available, the transfers did significantly better in reading achievement on the New York State Achievement Tests. In grade four the transfers from the one inner-city school, School Two, were joined by the transfers from another city school and compared to students remaining in highly segregated classes in School Two. This last set of results indicated significantly better achievement for the segregated students in School Two on the Iowa Tests of vocabulary, capitalization, arithmetic concepts and problem solving. Analysis of the scores for grades five and six indicated no significant differences between groups.

The results of the analyses of the data for grade four thus yielded results which were inconsistent with the other results of Rock's study, as well as other studies which in all cases failed to find any instance where segregated students were superior to integrated comparison groups. To determine whether there were any other differences between the fourth grade integrated and segregated groups relating to achievement, data examining social growth and work habits were reviewed. The procedure for obtaining this kind of information was to have the students' teachers assign a grade ranging from A to E, first, for social growth and secondly, for work habits. The data on social growth and work habits for all the grades except grade four showed that the percentage of students receiving A's and B's for the above two categories did not differ greatly between the two groups. In grade four, however, there was a large difference between the percentage of segregated students who got A's and B's and the percentage of integrated students who got A's and B's, with the difference clearly favoring the segregated students. Since these differences are conceivably related to achievement and were not taken into account in the covariance adjustment, this instance of superiority of the segregated group over the integrated group on achievement may not be interpreted with any confidence.

The results of the studies of Negro achievement under open enrollment programs, although few in number, generally fail to show that integration facilitates educational development of Negro students relative to those in segregated educational settings.

Achievement of Negro Students Who Are Transferred Within the City to Attain Racial Integration

In addition to open enrollment programs which are usually system-wide, there are other programs which involve transfer to achieve racial integration. Some of these programs involve closing schools with subsequent transferral of students, and others simply reassign pupils to integrated schools. Even where the programs are voluntary, they differ from open enrollment in that they are not conducted on a system-wide basis, although they may form part of a district-wide plan designed to eventually eliminate segregated schooling.

An example of this kind of transfer took place in White Plains several years ago. Carroll Johnson (1967), White Plains Superintendent, reports that one of their solutions to the problem of *de facto* segregation was to close an elementary school that was predominantly Negro and bus these children to schools in the outer parts of the city. He states that the integrated Negro children made satisfactory peer adjustments and showed gains in academic achievement.

In a study containing more of a research dimension, Wrightstone *et al.* (1966) reported on a project that involved integration through the pairing of several schools in Queens, New York. The schools were formerly K-6, and at the time of the project they became either 1-3 or 4-6, with all continuing to maintain their kindergartens. The degree of student achievement was established by the gains students made between the initial testing at the time of integration and the final testing two years later. Since there was no comparison group the success of the program may only be judged on the basis of the growth in achievement. On this basis, it appears as though all students did as well as they would have if they had remained in a segregated setting, and many of them made greater gains than would be normally expected.

More conclusive evidence about the effects of inner-city bussing programs is provided by David Jaquith's (1967) report of the Syracuse, New York, effort. In that city, the Board of Education decided to close two of the three predominantly nonwhite schools and bus the children in these schools to predominantly white schools located throughout the city. In order to determine the effects of integration on Negro achievement, a randomly selected group was drawn from the transfers, and a second randomly selected group was drawn from the students remaining in the one predominantly Negro school. The two groups of students were compared on the amount of achievement growth, and it was found that the transfer group showed some statistically significant improvement in reading achievement. As discussed previously, Jaquith reported that, during the second year, the transfer group advanced in reading achievement at a rate about double that of the control group which had remained in the predominantly Negro school.

Results similar to these are reported by Neil Sullivan (1968), Superintendent of the Berkeley school system. Berkeley engaged in a program to transport 250 Negro students from segregated schools to underused, predominantly white schools. The bussed children were compared to children remaining in the segregated school and to their own achievement in previous years. In reporting the findings Sullivan states that the bussed children made higher average gains than those who were not bussed and higher gains than they themselves had averaged in the previous years. Moreover, these gains were apparently better than would have been predicted on the basis of average measured intelligence. In another manipulation of the data, all of the scores received on the paragraph meaning section of the SAT were classified according to whether they fell in the lower third, the medium third or upper third of all scores (the paragraph meaning subtest of the SAT correlates highly with total score). When the scores of Negro students in the predominantly Negro schools were examined, it was found that over 66 percent of them fell in the lower third on this achievement measure. In the two different integrated settings, only 33 percent and 43 percent of the Negro students fell in the lower third of the achievement distribution. These results strongly point to superior achievement on the part of Negro students in integrated schools.

The Buffalo, New York school system (Dressler, 1967; Banks and DiPasquale, 1969) conducted two programs involving the transfer of Negro students from their predominantly Negro schools to predominantly white schools. In the first study, 560 kindergarten through seventh grade children were transferred from their schools when one of the schools was closed and the overcrowding in a second was reduced. Before this transfer, both transfer and nontransfer students were tested on the SAT paragraph meaning and word meaning subtests. One year later a group of 54 of the transfer students were retested along with 60 randomly selected students who had remained in the segregated school. Although some reservations about the comparability of the groups may be held, it is apparent that the transferred pupils made significantly greater gains than did the pupils remaining in the segregated school.

In the second Buffalo study, reviewed more extensively in a previous section of this chapter, 1200 Negro students were bussed from largely Negro schools to predominantly white schools. When the achievement growth rate of white students in classes 0 to 5 percent Negro was compared to the achievement growth rate of Negro students in classes 10 to 30 percent Negro, there was no significant difference. As was mentioned earlier, this finding is of particular interest, since it seems contrary to the typical pattern where Negro growth rate does not keep up to the achievement growth rate of whites.

The above studies fail to indicate that transfers which may be non-voluntary in nature retard the achievement growth of Negro students. In fact the evidence presented in these studies points toward increased achievement on the part of Negro students who have been bussed out of predominantly Negro schools and into predominantly white schools elsewhere in the city.

Achievement of Negro Students Who Are Bussed to the Suburbs

In what seems to be the most recent integration technique, Negro students attending predominantly Negro inner-city schools are bussed out to the suburbs to predominantly white schools. The programs are based on agreements drawn up by the city and suburban boards of education. Usually they provide for the bussing of only a small number of inner-city children with the costs for this program being borne by the city board of education. The suburban boards generally have the option of ending their participation if they feel that the program is not working out. Three programs of this type have been started during the past few years in the Rochester, Boston and Hartford areas. The initiation of these programs was not without some difficulty, and in several instances the suburban boards began these programs with large segments of the communities in opposition.

The evaluation of these programs is not yet complete, but there is enough information to make some preliminary judgments about their success. The program which is taking place in the Boston area compared bussed Negro students achievement gains against expected gains based on elapsed time. This evaluation indicated very substantial gains in the language achievement of the transferred students. After six months had elapsed the transferred students had gained nine months in reading, thirteen months in spelling and nine months in vocabulary knowledge.

Hartford's Project Concern conducted an evaluation which took place after one year and involved comparisons between bussed children and children who remained in their segregated inner-city schools. The achievement growth pattern of the transferred students was significantly better than the growth pattern of their segregated counterparts. In addition to this, the achievement growth of the bussed children exceeded the amount of growth which would be expected to occur on the basis of elapsed time. Thus, during the time these children were in an integrated setting, they were doing more than simply keeping up.

Rochester has had a bussing program for a number of years and therefore has had a chance to conduct a lengthier evaluation. The evaluation of their program with the West Irondequoit Central School District took place over a two year period with the first group being evaluated at the end of their first and second years of participation, and the second group being evaluated after their initial year of participation. The results, which were discussed in greater detail earlier, showed that the bussed children achieved somewhat better than those who remained in their segregated inner-city schools.

The studies which have been done on the effects of bussing Negro students to suburban schools indicate, on an overall basis, superior achievement on the part of the bussed students. While there were a number of instances in which there were no significant differences on a particular achievement subtest, there was no case in which the achievement of segregated Negro students was significantly better than the achievement of the bussed students. The achievement question could be more conclusively answered by the replication of these kinds of studies over longer periods of time.

The Effect of Time in an Integrated School on Negro Student Achievement

The material in this section will compare the results of studies which have done their evaluations at the end of one year with the findings of studies which have conducted their evaluations at the end of two years or at the end of both the one and two year periods. Unfortunately, the literature has not revealed any substantial studies of longer than a two year duration. The results obtained from the Hartford, Buffalo, Berkeley, Boston and one of the Rochester integration projects are all based on evaluations which covered elapsed time of six months to one year. Boston, the only evaluation completed before elapsed time of one year, also had no control group for comparison. Their findings of superior achievement were based on the fact that the transferred students exceeded normative achievement expectations. In the remaining studies, transferred students were compared with students who had not been transferred, and the overall results indicated superior achievement on the part of the transferred students.

Syracuse, Rochester-West Irondequoit and Louisville (Stallings, 1959) were all evaluated at the end of both the first and second years while initial open enrollment programs in Queens (Wrightstone et al., 1966), Rochester (Rentsch, 1966) and New Rochelle (Wolman, 1964) were evaluated only after more than one year had passed. The Syracuse study (Jaquith, 1967) reported some instance of statistically significant improvements in reading achievement levels for a group of transferred students matched against a control group remaining in a predominantly nonwhite school. In the second year, the achievement in reading achievement for the transferred group was about double that of the control group. The transferred students in the Rochester-West Irondequoit study who were tested at the end of the first and second years showed significantly greater achievement in some areas as compared to their controls. At the end of the first year, there were no significant differences between the mean MAT scores of the experimental and control groups; however, at the end of the second year, the transferred students scored significantly better on the arithmetic subtest of the MAT, with scores on all other sections being nonsignificant. The arithmetic section was not used in the initial testing so it is impossible to tell if this difference was present after one year or developed in the second year. In a study of integration in Louisville, Stallings (1959) examined achievement scores after one and two years of integration. During the first year, he could find no difference in the rate of Negro achievement from what it had been in the previous years. During the second year, however, the rate of Negro achievement substantially increased, exceeding gains made in previous years. The studies which conducted evaluations at the end of both first and second years tend to point to better achievement with the passage of more time in an integrated school environment. This conclusion is also supported by the results of the Berkeley study which examined the average grades of tenth grade students and found that tenth grade Negro students who had been in an integrated setting for three years had higher average grades than tenth grade Negro students who were in an integrated setting for only one year.

The Queens' study conducted its evaluation two years after the participating schools had been integrated. The criterion base was achievement growth in relation to whether a student had been in a predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican school or in a predominantly white school. Students who had been in a predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican school and who were transferred to mixed schools, grew in reading achievement but not always up to what they should have according to elapsed school time. This is not unusual, however, since it often happens even in situations where integrated Negro students make significantly better scores than their segregated counterparts. What appears to happen is that the integrated students are relatively better off because they do not fall as far behind as the segregated students. In arithmetic achievement, Negro students in grades three, four, five and six showed greater gains than would have been expected on the basis of elapsed school time. This finding coincides with the Rochester-West Irondequoit study which found significantly better arithmetic achievement on the part of transferred students at the end of two years of integrated schooling.

In the New Rochelle study, Wolman (1964) obtained the same results using the Reading Comprehension section of the MAT as were obtained in the Rochester-West Irondequoit study. She too found no significant differences in reading comprehension between integrated and nonintegrated Negro students. Interestingly enough, in another study in which the evaluation was conducted two years after it was initiated, Rentsch (1966) obtained nonsignificant differences between the reading achievement of transferred Negro students and Negro students who remained in segregated settings.

The results of these studies are far from being in any way conclusive. The studies which reported superior achievement on the part of transfer students at the end of one year indicate that the most substantial gains were made in the language and reading areas. The Syracuse evaluation, which was conducted both at the end of the first and second years, also indicated substantial reading improvement. The other longer studies for which detailed information is available (Wolman and Rentsch) show that after two years, there were no significant difference between language and reading achievement of integrated and non-integrated students. Apparently, the area where differences may be reliable after two years is arithmetic achievement. Obviously, no firm conclusions can be drawn, and this is another area which requires more extensive study.

The Effect of School Social Class Composition and Proportion White in the School on Negro Achievement in an Integrated School

Most of the studies which have been reviewed on the preceding pages do not include any information about the effects of student body characteristics on Negro achievement. Where comparisons between Negro achievement in integrated schools and Negro achievement in segregated schools are made, it is assumed that any differences which appear will be a result of having been in either an integrated or segregated environment. This ignores the fact that as the Negro child moves from the segregated school he not only becomes integrated, but he typically moves into a school with more advantaged children. As is well documented, there are a number of differences in the beliefs and attitudes of people in varying social classes. These differences extend to ideas about schools also. The problem then is to determine to what extent achievement and other differences result from racial integration itself, or whether they result from other student body factors associated with social class background.

The most direct evidence concerning this question is provided by the Berkeley study. In an effort to eliminate overcrowding and produce a better racial balance 250 Negro students were bussed to predominantly white schools in the Berkeley hills and foothills. The Berkeley hill schools were predominantly white and appeared to have the highest social class composition. The foothill schools had more of a racial mixture and were in between the hill schools and the predominantly Negro inner-city schools in level of social class composition. All the SAT reading scores for the district were examined, and it was determined where the cutoff points were for students falling in the lower third, the medium third and the upper third of the distribution. Negro scores were separated from "other" scores and both were classified as to whether they fell in the lower third, the medium third or the upper third of the distribution. Table 36 shows district-wide performance for Negro and "other" students in the Berkeley schools.

Table 36

Percentages of Students' Reading Scores Falling into Low, Medium and High Thirds in the Berkeley Grade Schools: All District Grade Schools[1]

	Low	Medium	High	Total
Negro	58.7	33.8	7.5	100 (N = 2809)
Other	13.1	36.2	50.7	100 (N = 4238)
Total	31.3	35.2	33.4	100 (N = 7047)

[1] Adapted from Sullivan (1968, p. 153).

Tables 37, 38 and 39 present the same breakdown as Table 36 for schools with different levels of integration and social class: predominantly Negro schools (lowest social class level); integrated foothill schools (intermediate social class level); and hill schools (highest social class level and lowest proportion Negro). It is evident from examination of Tables 37, 38 and 39 that the predominantly Negro schools had a

Table 37

Percentages of Students' Reading Scores Falling into Low, Medium and High Thirds in the Berkeley Grade Schools· Predominantly Negro Schools with Compensatory Education[1]

	Low	Medium	High	Total
Negro	66.2	29.2	4.5	100 (N = 2028)
Other	43.8	40.5	15.7	100 (N = 395)
Total	62.4	31.1	6.5	100 (N = 2423)

[1] Adapted from Sullivan (1968, p. 153).

Table 38

Percentages of Students' Reading Scores Falling into Low, Medium and High Thirds in the Berkeley Grade Schools: Integrated Schools (Foothill Schools) in Racially-Mixed Residential Areas[1]

	Low	Medium	High	Total
Negro	43.3	44.1	12.6	100 (N = 562)
Other	14.6	39.4	46.0	100 (N = 1207)
Total	23.6	40.9	35.5	100 (N = 1769)

[1] Adapted from Sullivan (1968, p. 153).

Table 39

Percentages of Students' Reading Scores Falling into Low, Medium and High Thirds in the Berkeley Schools: Predominantly White Schools (Hill Schools Integrated by Negro Students Bused from Lower-Social-Class Areas)[1]

	Low	Medium	High	Total
Negro	33.4	45.2	21.4	100 (N = 234)
Other	8.2	34.3	57.5	100 (N = 2660)
Total	9.9	35.5	54.6	100 (N = 2899)

[1] Adapted from: Sullivan (1968, p. 153).

much greater percentage of their Negro students falling in the lower third of the distribution. The actual figures indicate that 66.2 percent of the Negro students in the predominantly Negro schools fell in the lower third of the distribution, whereas only 33.4 percent of the Negro students in the hill schools fell into the lower third. The foothill schools had 43.3 percent of their students falling into the lower third which was in between the hill schools and the predominantly Negro schools but still substantially less than the 66 percent found in the predominantly Negro schools.

The figures for the upper end of the distribution were also quite revealing. As Table 37 indicates, only 4.5 percent of the Negro students in the predominantly Negro schools had scores which placed them in the upper third of the distribution. Schools in the foothills, on the other hand had 12.6 percent of their Negro students in the upper third, and even more impressively, the hill schools had 21.4 percent of their Negro students in the upper third of the distribution.

The findings reported above are impressive on several accounts. The first, of course, is due to the fact that the integrated Negro students generally did considerably better than their segregated counterparts. Secondly, these findings appear to provide evidence about the gross effect of school social class composition on Negro achievement. While Negro students in the integrated foothill schools did better than Negro students in segregated schools, they were both overshadowed by the performance of the Negro students in the hill schools. According to the study, the greatest difference between the hill and foothill schools was in school social class composition. Thus, this appears to be another demonstration of the facilitating effect of social class composition of the school on Negro achievement. However this effect is confounded with the effect of integration *per se* since the hill and foothill schools had different proportions of non-white students.[29] Before going further, it should be recognized that in drawing these conclusions, it is assumed that differences in the quality of the hill and foothill schools and other educational factors did not exist and that the caliber of the Negro students who transferred to the hill and foothill schools was also equal. Within the framework of the assumptions, however, the conclusions are consistent with other studies which have shown that school social class composition does have a substantial effect on student achievement.

An examination of the remaining studies which provided some data on the proportion of Negroes in the school or classroom offers additional but indirect evidence of the influence of social class composition of the student body on achievement.[30] For purposes of this examination, these studies have been divided into two groups based on the results of their evaluations. The first group consists of those studies which reported either no significant differences as a result of integration or some significant differences as a result of integration. The second group is comprised of studies which have reported more extensive and more consistent achievement differences as a result of integration. Both groups of studies are then examined in relation to the proportion of Negro students in the school or classroom, under the assumption that the proportion of Negro students is a rough index of the proportion of lower-status students in the school.

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[29] Other relevant factors are uncontrolled here such as ability, individual social class and school factors.

[30] Like the Berkeley study, the remaining group of investigations did not directly utilize measures of social class. However, with the exception of the Queens study, it is known that the integrated school situations represented a substantial shift in school social class composition for the transferred Negro minorities. The findings of Coleman *et al*. would suggest that this is one of the most powerful factors influencing Negro achievement, but other factors such as teacher quality may also have contributed to integrated-segregated Negro achievement differences. At best, the current analysis provides additional evidence which is consistent with the hypothesis relating school social class composition to student achievement; direct support is not indicated.

Within the first group, the Rentsch study was one in which the overall analysis showed no significant differences between the integrated students and the segregated students. In this study, the proportion of Negro students in each of the receiving schools averaged about 8 percent. It is impossible to tell what the percentages were within integrated classrooms, but it is surmised that they too were relatively low. The Rochester-West Irondequoit study reported findings that can be described as mixed. In many instances, the differences were nonsignificant, but there were some which showed significantly better achievement for the integrated students. There is no specific report on the proportions of Negro students in each of the six receiving schools, but analysis of what data there are indicates that they must have been very small. The study covered only students in grades one and two and never had more than 44 Negro students distributed over six elementary schools. At most it would appear that these students could have made up no more than two or three percent of any of the student groups where they attended school. It would also appear that in most instances they did not comprise more than 10 percent of the population within their particular classrooms.

The Rochester report of their expanded open enrollment program (Rock *et al.*, 1968) is another study which has shown some significant differences interlaced with many nonsignificant differences. In this study the average Negro student enrollment per school was 12.5 percent with a range of from 1.5 percent to 24.3 percent. (Again no information was available about the percentages of Negro students within classrooms.) The final study falling into the first group is the Queens study which was reported by Wrightstone et al., (1966). As was stated earlier, achievement comparisons in this study were based on whether students came up to or exceeded normative expectations. Then results indicated that normative expectations for language were not met and, in several instances, the normative expectations for arithmetic were met and exceeded. In this study the makeup of the average student body was apparently of a lower status than others included in this group: 8.8 percent Puerto Rican, 43.5 percent Negro and 47.7 percent other. There was no specific information about the percentages of Negroes within each particular class, but the total school percentage indicates that they must have been rather high in most instances.

The studies in this first group had percentages of Negro students which are fairly close to the extremes of the integration continuum. Three are around the lower end or less than 10 percent Negro student population, and the fourth is near the upper end which is less than 60 percent Negro. The studies in the second group are characterized by more extensive achievement differences on the part of integrated students. They will be analyzed to determine if percentages of integrated Negro students found in these studies were any different than the percentages found in the first group.

Carroll Johnson (1967), in his report of the White Plains integration project, indicates that Negro student achievement increased after integration took place. Since there was no control group for comparisons and no hard data are included in the report the extent of improvement is unknown. He does, however, state that after integration each school in the district had a minimum of 10 percent Negro students and a maximum of 30 percent.

Jaquith's report on the Syracuse project also indicates substantially better achievement on the part of integrated students. In this project the number of Negro students was held to three or four per class. This would mean that if the average class size were around 25 the percentages of Negro students would range from 12 to 16. The Hartford project which also reported significantly better achievement on the part of its integrated students only involved classes with Negro enrollments of less than 25 percent (Mahan, 1968).

In the Buffalo study, where this question was directly studied, it was found that in classes which were between 10 and 30 percent Negro, the achievement growth rate of Negro students was equivalent to that of white students. In addition to this, no differences were found between the achievement growth rates of classes 30 to 75 percent Negro and classes 75 to 100 percent Negro. The data suggest that schools with more than 30 percent Negro are in effect disadvantaged.

Due to the fact that data were not available on the proportion of Negroes within classrooms and other required information was also lacking (e.g., social class levels of minority and majority students), definitive conclusions about specific factors influencing achievement levels of Negroes in the integrated school setting are not possible. The results, however, are consistent with the findings of other more extensive studies (Coleman et al., 1966; Wilson, 1967) in that they indicate that high proportions of (lower-status) minority pupils in integrated schools settings are associated with inconsistent or negative results in relation to the question of the educational effectiveness of school integration. Where the proportions of disadvantaged Negro students in the integrated schools falls in the range of roughly 10 to 30 percent, the results tend to indicate facilitating effects on achievement. There is also the bare suggestion from the data that very small proportions of Negro students in the integrated school may not be an educationally desirable situation, although this question is much in need of more definitive study.

In the final analysis, it is difficult on the basis of the studies reviewed here, to make any definitive statements about the effects of time, school social class composition and proportion Negro in the school on achievement. There is some indication that with more time in an integrated school Negro achievement is better. The Berkeley study appears to provide some indication that the social class composition of the school does affect Negro achievement.[31] Negroes attending integrated schools with a higher social class composition did better on the average. It also appears that schools with a disadvantaged Negro population of roughly 10 to 30 percent, with the remaining proportion generally composed of more advantaged whites, may be more effective in facilitating the achievement of Negro students than schools where the Negro student population is a majority or a tiny minority. This tentative conclusion is supported by the analysis of Coleman et al. and the RIPS report which tended to show improved achievement for Negro students when the proportion white in the classroom exceeded 50 percent. Although more complete data on this question are yet required, it is likely that the relationship between proportion white in the classroom and Negro achievement is the result of a complex of factors such as the social class levels of both whites and Negroes in individual classrooms, overall school racial balance and other factors.

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[31] A recent publication by Sullivan and Stewart (1969) suggests that Negro students within Berkeley's integrated schools were tracked. How much this policy may have contributed to segregated classrooms within "integrated" schools cannot be determined from available publications. In any event, the application of tracking in the integrated schools in Berkeley renders suspect of any judgement concerning the effects of social class composition of the classroom on Negro student achievement.

White Children in Integrated Schools

Up to this point the major concern of this review of integration studies has been to determine to what extent Negro student achievement is affected by integration. This, however, fails to take into consideration the large number of white students who are part of this integration process and whose achievement may also be affected by it. In fact, one of the major arguments advanced by opponents of integration centers around the deleterious effects integration is presumed to have on white achievement. The argument is advanced that standards will be lowered and programs will deteriorate as a result of integration. This section reviews available studies which have gathered information about the effects of integration on white student achievement and on school programs.

Where integration does not already exist, it may be brought about in either of two ways. The first is by transferring Negro students to formerly predominantly white schools, and the second is by transferring white students to formerly predominantly Negro schools. Of the two methods, the transfer of Negro students to white schools is far more prevalent. Nevertheless, two studies gathered for this review had reported either the second method or both the first and second methods. This review covers first those studies in which the white students remained in their home schools, and the second will review the two studies in which whites traveled from their home school.

Among all of the school district projects reviewed here, White Plains was one of the earliest to employ the first method to bring about the integration of their schools. In his report on the project, Carroll Johnson (1967) states that the achievement of white students who had been in all-white or mostly white schools before integration was in no way impeded by the transfer of Negro students. This same conclusion was drawn by Jaquith (1967) who stated that the receiving schools in the Syracuse project experienced no dropoff in the level of achievement. Mahan (1968), in his report of the Hartford project, also indicates that there was no evidence of a drop in achievement among white students when Negro children were placed in formerly all-white classes. This statement is somewhat stronger than either of the two preceding ones, since it specifically refers to what happened to white students in the particular classes that were integrated rather than referring to what occurred on a school-wide basis. In Berkeley (Sullivan, 1968) the same kinds of data were gathered, and it was found that white students in classes with bussed children continued to score high and make large gains in achievement.

In a recent Buffalo project (Banks and DiPasquale, 1969), achievement of white students was examined on a school-wide basis rather than by looking only at classes where integration was in effect. Thus, their results reflect the achievement of both white students in integrated classes and white students in white classrooms. The results indicate that white students had a very satisfactory growth rate. The mean achievement growth for white students was 1.23, exceeding the 1.0 increase which would be expected according to elapsed school time.

The Queens study (Wrightstone et al., 1966) included data on both white students who were integrated in their home schools and white students who experienced integration by traveling to predominantly Negro schools. When the achievement gains of the white pupils who were integrated in their home schools were compared to the amount of elapsed time, the gains at the median for all grades exceeded the gains that would be expected on the basis of elapsed time (gains ranged from seven months to two years). All of these studies which involved the transfer of Negro students to predominantly white schools fail to indicate any adverse effects of integration on white student achievement.

As mentioned before, two of the studies examined the effects of white transfer on white student achievement. In the Queens study (Wrightstone _et al_., 1966), predominantly white schools were paired with predominantly Negro schools, and this made it necessary for some pupils of both races to transfer. It also meant that in the final evaluation white pupils who had transferred to establish integrated schools could be compared to white pupils who remained in their home schools during the integration process. Thus, both sets of pupils were experiencing integration but under different circumstances. When the median grade score gains of white students in each grade were compared to the gains expected on the basis of elasped time, it was found that the white students in each grade exceeded the expected gains. When the median grade score gains of the white students who traveled were compared to the median grade score gains of the white students remaining in their home school, it was found that the students who remained at home showed greater gains at all grade levels. It is not clear why this occurred, but it does appear that those students who traveled also found themselves in schools with greater percentages of Negro students.

A second study which examined this question was conducted in the Rochester school system and reported on by Rock _et al_. (1968). In this study, the achievement of white students who voluntarily transferred to an inner-city school in order to establish integration was compared to the achievement of white students experiencing integration in their predominantly white outer-city schools. The inner-city school was a new one, also featuring some new instructional programs. A group of randomly selected white transfer students and a group of randomly selected white students remaining in their integrated home schools were used for the comparisons. Adjustments were made for any initial achievement differences found in the two groups, and when the final comparisons were made there were no significant differences in the achievement of the two groups except at the fourth grade. Here the students who transferred into the inner-city school scored significantly better on the Iowa vocabularly test and the Iowa arithmetic concepts test.

The above studies concur with the first group of studies in indicating that white student achievement does not appear to be adversely affected by integration. In both instances, the white students made substantial achievement gains. In Queens the gains in achievement at the median substantially exceeded normative expectations.

The additional question of whether white student achievement is affected by transfer to formerly segregated schools is not yet answered. In the Queens study, achievement of whites may conceivably have been affected adversely by transfer, but in the Rochester study the opposite seems to be true. In both instances the transferred students found themselves in schools with large percentages of Negro students. Perhaps information on the attitudes of the two groups of transferees might suggest reasons for the observed differences. In any case, final conclusions will have to await more studies of this type.

The overall data gathered from the studies which employed either of the integration methods, bussing Negro students in or bussing white students out, indicate that white student achievement did not suffer due to integration.

During the integration period whites continued to make the usual gains in achievement. If this question were to be studied any further, future investigators would do well to examine in detail variations in school social class composition, school morale, school quality and other variables which may conceivably affect white student achievement, independently of any presumed race effects. It appears that most investigators have been rather myopic in their failure to establish white control groups under varying conditions of integration.

Qualitv of Instructional Programs in Integrated Schools

Another issue raised by opponents of integration is that school programs will be downgraded as a result of integration. One of the major claims has been that integration will result in a large increase in the proportion of time given over to discipline problems, thereby affecting at least the quantity of instruction available, if not also the quality. This is not an unreasonable expectation since research does tend to show that a disporportionate share of available instructional time is given over to discipline in disadvantaged Negro schools (Katz, 1964). Opponents also point to the lower average achievement levels of Negro children, suggesting that this alone will result in a general downgrading of the quality of school programs. Objective evidence on this proposition is difficult to come by, and it is thereby necessary to make judgements on the basis of more indirect information.

In 1963, Herbert Wey (1964) surveyed a number of Southern school systems in an attempt to find out how desegregation was proceeding. One of the questions he asked had to do with whether academic standards had been lowered as a result of integration. Out of the forty respondents only two southern educators felt that a lowering of standards had accompanied integration. In addition to this, many felt that their instructional program under integration was better than it had been before desegregation began. In his report of the Washington, D. C. schools before and after desegregation, Carl Hansen (1960) also speaks about the general upgrading of the total school program. He cites the fact that fewer problems developed and more inservice programs had been offered to teachers.

The Queen's project also attempted to determine if integration had any effects on the programs of the school. Principals and teachers indicated that the project was beneficial in that it was accompanied by the greater availability of textbooks and other materials. It was also found that there was a considerable amount of new curriculum implementation and adaptation. Negro history received more emphasis than it had before. On the negative side, more than half the teachers felt that a better learning situation could be established by having reduced class size within neighborhood schools. They also believed discipline to be one of the biggest problems. This, however, is not unusual since discipline is one of the chief problems usually cited by teachers in general.

Comments made by teachers in the Rochester Open Enrollment Program (Rentsch, 1966) indicate that the instructional program continued along in almost the same manner as it had before. Where new programs were instituted, most of them dealt with developing better social relations among pupils and learning about minority group contributions to our country. In this case, it appears that integration may have brought many new positive learnings into the curriculum. Teachers did not indicate that the instructional program was in any way impaired, although some did say that in many cases the achievement levels of the entering open enrollment children were noticeably lower than the average achievement levels of the home school child. Most teachers seemed to be able to accept this situation and work within it. A number of teachers felt that they had to alter their disciplinary procedures, but none mentioned that this necessarily brought down the quality of the educational program.

Banks and DiPasquale (1969) queried Buffalo teachers and principals who had participated in a transfer program. They did not directly ask them whether or not they thought the quality of the instructional program had suffered, but they did ask them to indicate whether they felt that achievement levels had been affected. About half of the principals and one-third of the teachers stated that achievement levels had gone down. One of the principals noted that the drop in achievement levels was not so much due to the integration program as the fact that the social class composition of the school was changing, with the more affluent students moving out. A great percentage of the principals felt that discipline problems had increased, while less than half the teachers felt this had occurred, and 29 percent thought that the incidence of discipline problems was somewhat lower or significantly lower. The results are somewhat contradictory, since while at the time the teachers and principals were reporting these negative findings, 75 percent of the principals and 85 percent of the teachers felt that the program was educationally sound, had demonstrated positive results or was a good idea. This might indicate that on an overall basis teachers and principals did not feel that a bussing program was detrimental to their instructional program.

While the evidence presented in the above studies is relatively crude and subjective, it does generally suggest that instructional programs are not greatly affected by integration. There is no doubt that certain problems do occur when integration is effected. Nevertheless, most teachers feel that these problems are within the scope of their abilities. In addition to this, certain positive effects on the instructional program accompanied the onset of integration. Many schools reported on the development of programs dealing with Black history and the contributions of minority groups. Integration also meant that there was an increased opportunity for learning experiences involving members of a different race or social class. Given present societal conditions, these new learnings take on considerable importance and represent a positive improvement in the curriculum of the school.

As was indicated earlier, the evidence lacks objectivity. Any final conclusions about the effects of integration on school programs will have to be made on the basis of evidence gathered by more objective measures. This might involve, for example, observations of the amount of material covered in the year before integration and in the year after integration. Also, some measurement of the depth of topic coverage would be in order. If enough of these kinds of measurements were taken then it would probably be possible to draw some firm conclusions. For the moment, however, it will be necessary to work with the present highly subjective data which suggest that school programs are not adversely affected by school integration.

This chapter has covered a great many topics in an effort to report on what is known about school integration projects. For the most part, the primary emphasis has been directed toward finding out if the integrated classroom can be a source of increased achievement for the Negro child. This final section is related to what has been previously said, but it goes somewhat further in that it is concerned not only with observed achievement but also with attitudes and values. The discussion presented on the following pages centers on the integrated classroom's potential for promoting positive interracial attitudes and orienting the disadvantaged student toward achievement values.

The Integrated Classroom: Potential for Promoting Positive Interracial Attitudes and Orienting the Disadvantaged Student Toward Achievement Values

Since little evidence is available on the process of social interaction in the interracial classroom, it is necessary to obtain some view of the possible nature of the process from the research completed in racially unspecified classroom settings. Any considered encounter with the problem suggests that the newly integrated classroom may have substantial potential for either facilitating or debilitating the psychological and intellectual growth of entering minority group students. Informal studies (Coles, 1968) and reports of the desegregation process in the schools (Mack, 1968; Crain, 1969) suggest that the experience may be stressful for students and teachers, as well as various adult groups involved in the process. Although not much is known of the social interaction process as it occurs in the integrated classroom, recent reports (Katz, 1964; 1967; Coleman *et al*., 1966; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967) suggest that the interracial classroom may facilitate the development of positive interracial attitudes as well as provide a partial explanation for why desegregation works to the academic advantage of the integrated minority student.

In a review of 14 studies of the social context of the classroom, Clausen and Williams (1963) revealed the now well known generalization that most economically and socially deprived segments of the population typically rear children who may either lack motivation toward educational opportunities or who may be unable to translate such motivation into effective behavior. These children are further disadvantaged in cognitive abilities and academic skills and are unfamiliar with the bulk of the material treated in the classroom. Further, they are likely to be disapproved of by teachers, school administrators and their peers because of their speech, attitudes and other behaviors. Disadvantaged minority group children may be further affected by negative attitudes toward the self. Proshansky and Newton (1968) surveyed the literature relating to Negro self rejection. The Negro child readily absorbs the cultural norms and judgements about his race, learning in a rudimentary way about his limited opportunities and prejudice against him. The Negro child is likely to learn to reject himself.

Evidence indicating that socially and economically disadvantaged children may be subjected to greater amounts of negative teacher-student interaction than their more advantaged compeers is shown in a few studies. Davidson and Lang (1960) studied fourth, fifth and sixth graders' perceptions of their teachers feelings toward them and related this variable to the child's level of achievement and the extent of his tendency to view himself favorably. The study also examined the relationship between children's perceptions of their teachers feelings toward them and student social class level. The results showed that children with more favorable self images were more likely to perceive their teachers' feelings as being more favorable than children with negative self images. Children's perceptions of favorableness of teachers' feelings were in turn found to be positively and significantly related to their level of academic achievement and expressions of desirable behavior in the classroom. A related study by Hoehn (1954) further showed that teacher contacts with lower-class students were decidedly more negative and more frequent than their contacts with middle-class students. Of considerable significance in the Davidson and Lang study was the additional finding of a positive and significant relationship between student social class level and the extent to which the student perceived his teacher's feelings toward him as being favorable, irrespective of achievement level. These findings suggest that the low achieving student with a disadvantaged background is more likely to be further disadvantaged by his teacher's affective behavior.

Several investigations summarized by Glidewell, Kantor, Smith and Stringer (1966) generally substantiate the powerful position of the teacher in the social structure of the classroom, with effects on the social-emotional climate, student performance, students' social positions, students' attitudes and values and a variety of student behaviors. The great ability of the classroom teacher to influence the process of interaction in the classroom and the typical ways in which such influence occurs should be an important consideration in attempts at school desegregation.

Perhaps of equal importance to success in the desegregation process are the characteristic ways in which children interact in the social context of the classroom. Substantial evidence (Glidewell et al., 1966) shows that children more often tend to accept or choose others from their own or higher social class levels. There appear to be a number of limits to this tendency; for example, children near the limits of the modal social group may be accepted and children from the lower social classes with middle-class orientations and behaviors may also achieve general social acceptance in the classroom. These findings are of particular interest within the context of school desegregation due to the posited effects of individual classroom social status on mental health attributes such as self esteem, intellectual development, feelings of inferiority, rejection and school achievement.

The positive and negative effects of the classroom interactions process have been described as a circular event by Glidewell et al. as follows (1966, pp. 247, 248).

> ...If a child is fortunate enough to be strong and healthy, intelligent, upper-middle class, and possessing well-developed interpersonal skills, he is likely to have high self-esteem and a capacity to perceive accurately the nature of the approaches and responses of others to him...he is likely to make good use of his intelligence. As the skillful child develops more acceptance, power, and competence in the classroom, he appears also to develop still greater self-esteem. Under some conditions, he also develops more willingness to take risks by trying new approaches to people and tasks. His new approaches can modify his position in the system. As the risks--small or large--turn out to be profitable, self-esteem further increases and his position in the social system becomes more satisfying. A circular, self-perpetuating interaction process thus becomes established...
>
> Turning to the other extreme, consider the child who enters the classroom with less vigorous health, with limited intellect, inadequate interpersonal skills, from the lower classes. He is likely to have a low level of self-esteem and relatively high anxiety. The data indicate that he is likely to initiate interaction with his peers and the teacher with awkwardness and he is likely to induce responses which are, at best, a restrained embarassment, or, at worst, hostile ridicule... . He is likely to respond with some degree of either aggression or withdrawal, or both in alternation. If he responds with aggression, he is likely to promote counter-aggression. If he responds with withdrawal, he is likely to promote some form of passive rejection or counterwithdrawal. It has even been noted...that the low-status boys...evoke more criticism from the teacher than do their high-status classmates. The response of others--peers or teacher--to this child's interaction attempts are not likely to increase his self-esteem or his interpersonal skills. He is likely to distort his perception of the responses by denial or projection in order to protect whatever limited self-esteem he can marshall in the face of rejection by others. His utilization of his intelligence is likely to be reduced. Again, a self-sustaining circular process is established.

Empirical support for the process described by Glidewell et al. has been obtained primarily in the elementary school classroom setting. Viewed in relation to the process of desegregation, it would appear that the white, middle-class environment presents substantial obstacles to the effective adaptation of the newly integrated student. The evidence suggests that the well documented inferior educational experience of the Negro student (Katz, 1964; Coleman et al., 1966; Mack, 1968) plus the inferior social-economic position of the great majority of Negro families (Pettigrew, 1969) may place the newly integrated Negro student at a double disadvantage in the school setting. Aside from the racial aspect, it would appear that the typical Negro student may be reacted to by white middle-class teachers and students alike with some form of hostility (Katz,1964). The inability of the typical Negro student to meet the academic and social standards of the middle-class white majority may directly initiate rejection by teacher and peer group alike leading to the defensive responses described by Glidewell et al. The results would most likely be further rejection by the peer group, more defensive behavior and eventually some form of withdrawal from the dominant white group with its associated norms for academic and social behaviors.

The process described above may in part account for why desegregation, as it is currently being carried out, does not necessarily facilitate the educational and psychological development of the Negro child as contrasted with the segregated educational setting. The process has been investigated more directly in relation to the problem of desegregation in a series of experimental studies reported by Katz (1964; 1967). Katz concluded that the racially balanced classroom can generate both favorable and detrimental effects on the performance of minority group students as a function of three salient dimensions: (a) social threat posed by contact between the majority group and the subordinate minority group; (b) low expectancy of success resulting from competition with white academic standards; and (c) failure threat engendered as a result of anticipation of disapproval, disparagement or rejection from the white peer group and teacher in academic matters. The effects of the operation of these factors include debilitating anxiety, the results of which may be substantial decrements in intellectual development and achievement performance (Hill and Sarason, 1966; O'Reilly, 1969), and/or damaging effects to achievement motivation such as withdrawal from the achievement situation or defensive setting of future goals at unrealistically high or low levels (Atkinson, 1965).

In his series of laboratory studies employing small groups of college students, Katz (1964; 1967) was able to support a number of aspects of his interpretations of the biracial learning setting. In an early set of studies, the performance of biracial pairs of students was studied in cooperative problem solving tasks (Katz, 1964). In a later set of experiments, a number of dimensions of social or failure threat emanating from the adult leader and the peer group were manipulated. The findings of the earlier studies led to the conclusion that in work teams composed of Negro and white students, Negroes were passively compliant and rated their performance as inferior even when it was not, and expressed less satisfaction with the team experiences than did their white companions. In the later studies by Katz and his associates (1967), attempts were made to determine whether the biracial learning setting could be manipulated to overcome the motivational deficits experienced by the Negro students by manipulating such dimensions as the race of the adult leader, the nature of the interaction between Negro and white students and additional stressors other than the adult leader or student companion (e.g., task difficulty, instructions and threat of shock). The results of these studies indicated that the white adult leader and peer group may be perceived by the Negro student as threatening, and with the addition of failure threat--his performance may be seriously affected. Of considerable interest were the findings which indicated that these sources of threat could be directly manipulated to induce greater performance in Negro students relative to the level induced in a segregated learning setting. Thus, Katz concluded that when anxiety factors are minimized, the biracial learning setting may actually have a facilitating effect on Negro intellectual achievement. The factors responsible for such an effect are presumed to be the greater prestige value of evaluation by white adults, the more valid challenge of comparisons of Negro performance with white norms and control over such additional motivational factors as anxiety.

On the basis of these studies it appears that the difficulties experienced by whites and Negroes in the integrated school setting may be extensive and even harmful--particularly for the Negro student. Given the inadequate background of disadvantaged minority students for appropriate and adaptive response in the white middle classroom setting, plus the relative intractability of widely held racial prejudices (Proshansky, 1966), it would seem unreasonable to expect that the interracial classroom would generally facilitate the achievement of Negro students and/or effect positive change in interracial acceptance. This, however, is what recent evidence on the effects of desegregation generally tend to show, although results are somewhat mixed.

One of the earlier reviews of research on school desegregation by Weinberg (1965) failed to show any general positive effects of the integrated school setting on interracial social acceptance. One report showed that although the Negro student was a participant in social activities in the college setting, he still tended to feel rejected by the white majority. Findings of studies in the high school setting showed a lack of change in racial attitudes after seven months of desegregation, in one instance, and a negative effect on white students' acceptance of Negro students after nine months of desegregation in the other instance. On the positive side, Weinberg reported a number of informal findings which suggested that desegregation increased the number of friendly interracial associations among children.

Research findings reviewed by Proshansky (1966) reveal a somewhat more positive picture of the potential of the desegregated setting for modifying interracial attitudes. In one of the studies cited (Singer, 1964), the racial attitudes of two fifth grade classes, each from a suburb of New York City, were compared. One class was from a community in which integration had been established 13 years earlier, with a great deal of care given to appropriate arrangements in the school setting. The comparison group attended an all-white school in a similar community, with the exception that there were virtually no Negro residents. The results showed that children in the integrated school had significantly more positive and fewer negative sterotypes about Negroes than students in the all-white school. They also had a greater desire for personal contact with Negroes and had more familiarity with and greater positive affect toward Negro celebrities. There were still manifestations of prejudice in each group, and this may have been due to the continuing effects of parental influence. In two other studies reviewed by Proshansky (Witmore, 1957; Campbell, 1958), the effects of desegregation on the attitudes of white high school students toward Negroes were found to be positive, and were apparently due in one case to changes in adult norms for Negro-white relations and in the other to the amount of classroom contact and friendship with Negroes. In the former case it was found that the direction of attitude change was associated with how students perceived the racial attitudes of their parents and friends.

Pettigrew (1968) noted the distinction made in the Coleman report between a merely desegregated school and an integrated one. Merely desegregated schools can be either effective or ineffective in a context of interracial acceptance or interracial hostility. The greater variance of test scores of Negroes in desegregated classrooms, as contrasted with segregated classrooms, indicates that some students are doing extremely well while others are not. The Coleman data suggest interracial acceptance as one of the relevant variables. In those schools where teachers reported no racial tension, Negro students evidenced higher verbal achievement, more definite college plans and more positive racial attitudes than comparable Negro students in merely desegregated settings.

Other studies of desegregated school settings tend to show positive effects on interracial attitudes and social acceptance. In a study of perceptions of Negro adolescents with and without white friends in integrated urban high schools, Webster and Kroger (1966) found that Negroes with white friends had more favorable self-images, reported higher levels of aspiration and scored higher on measures of social competence and personal independence. Wrightstone, McClelland and Forlano (1966) studied interracial social acceptance among more than 5,000 elementary school students in eight desegregated schools in the New York City Public Schools. Observations of social interaction in 50 randomly selected classes were made nearly two years after the initiation of desegregation. Sociometric preferences were gathered for the initial and second year of the studies during the middle and concluding parts of each school year. The results of direct observations of student and teacher behavior generally indicated that children did not discriminate along ethnic lines in such activities as holding hands for games or choosing partners for teams. Similarly, teachers did not use ethnicity as a basis for choosing students for certain activities and did not relate in either a friendly or hostile manner on the basis of ethnicity. The results of the analyses of the sociometric data for the first year showed a small decline in the tendencies of Negroes to select other Negroes as a first choice and a corresponding increase in their tendencies to select whites as first choice. Whites, however, preponderantly selected other whites as a first choice, and this tendency remained stable during the first year. When the choices of whites for the first and second years of the program were examined, there was a small increase in the proportion of Negroes selected as first choice by whites, and this tendency remained stable for the second year.

In a study of a bussing program in the Buffalo schools, Banks and DiPasquale (1969) distributed attitude questionnaires to a random sample of the principals, teachers and students involved in the program. There were some serious problems with return of the questionnaires, particularly from Negro parents and students, with probable biasing effects on the results for this group. Analyses of parent responses indicated that the great majority of both Negro and white parents were favorable toward the bussing program. Negro students (97 percent) overwhelmingly expressed "good" or "very good" attitudes toward white students, with a nearly identical response from white students regarding attitudes toward Negroes.

Informal reports from White Plains and the Metropolitan Council (METCO) of Boston indicated generally satisfactory adjustment of Negro and white students in these school integration programs. Purl (1968), in a study of an integrated elementary school in California, found that minority group children achieved social acceptance, but that for Negroes, acceptance seemed to be determined more by achievement than for Mexican-American children.

In their review of the evidence from national survey data (Coleman et al., 1966), as well as other small scale studies, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) made the following observations concerning the effects of racially segregated and racially integrated schools on the attitudes and preferences of Negroes:

> a. Negro students who had attended integrated schools were more likely to express a preference for continuing attendance in integrated schools than were Negro students who had attended racially isolated schools.
>
> b. Attendance at racially integrated schools appeared to have an important influence on the tendencies of Negroes to prefer interracial neighborhoods, to hold more trusting attitudes toward whites, and to send their children to desegregated schools.

The effects of Negro experience in the integrated setting appeared to be reflected in adult behavior and preferences in that the Commission found that Negroes who had attended desegregated schools were more likely to have children in interracial schools and reside in interracial neighborhoods than those who had not. The Commission also found that whites who had previously attended racially integrated schools had more positive preferences for interracial neighborhoods and schools, expressed a greater willingness to have Negro friends and were more favorable toward nondiscriminatory practices relating to Negro employment than whites who had attended all-white schools. Furthermore, the results of the National survey data show that the preference of white students for interracial schooling was even more likely if prior attendance in a desegregated school had begun in the early elementary grades than if attendance had begun in later grades.

It was further reported that racial isolation in the schools also fosters attitudes and behaviors that perpetuate isolation in other areas of American life. Negroes who attended segregated schools developed attitudes that alienate them from whites. White adults with similarly isolated backgrounds tend to resist desegregation in many areas - housing, jobs and schools.

Not all intergroup contact in schools and other settings leads to increased acceptance as some of the previous studies cited have shown and as Pettigrew (1969) concluded in his review of the research. Chesler, Wittes and Radin (1968) found that desegregation in a Northern Midwest school had a number of undesirable effects on interracial understanding. The study involved 90 Negro children in the second, third and fifth grades who were bussed to several predominantly or entirely white schools. Data from observations and self-reports led to the following conclusions (paraphrased from Chesler, Wittes and Radin, 1968, pp. 2-4).

1. The negative reactions of the white children ranged from deliberate ignoring to name-calling, physical provocation and aggression.

2. Most Negro children generally reported a systematic and consistent pattern of rejection.

3. The causes for rejection by whites appeared to revolve around: (a) generalized fear; (b) jealousy in that they felt Negroes received favored treatment; and (c) fright due to the way some Negroes taunted and defied school rules and authorities.

4. Whites who expressed nondiscriminating, unprejudiced feelings and attitudes frequently earned their group's disapproval and were pressured to conform to the normative standards of rejection and disdain of the integrated Negro minority.

5. With few exceptions, white children appeared to end the school year with the same negative attitudes toward Negroes that they had at the beginning.

6. In summary, the children by themselves did not appear to be forming positive interracial relationships and positive attitudes toward racial association. There were occasional indications of the beginning of acceptance and friendship, but the overall pattern of distance, caution and rejection remained at the end of the school year.

Chesler *et al*. implicated both teachers and parents as primary causes of the failure of desegregation in this instance. It appeared that some teachers held attitudes which would have contributed to the exacerbation of negative interracial attitudes. Moreover, there seemed to be serious problems in the ability of some teachers to cope effectively with the changed situation represented by an interracial classroom. Parents of whites, however, were probably a more serious problem in this report, since they appeared to maintain consistent and unyielding cognitive and affective support of their children's negative racial attitudes. Previous studies (Proshansky, 1966) suggest that changes in the racial attitudes of parents may be a necessary condition for positive changes in children's interracial attitudes in the classroom situation.

Research reported by Proshansky (1966), Katz (1967) and others directly implies that the integrated classroom does not necessarily promote positive interracial attitudes or orient the disadvantaged student toward achievement values. Their work and the additional studies cited above appear to confirm this position. If just integration had been the key to producing more positive interracial attitudes and a stronger orientation toward achievement on the part of the disadvantaged, all the studies would have indicated growth in these areas. Since the results relating to this hypothesis were often negative, the appropriate conclusion appears to be that positive growth in these areas occurs only in cases where integration is accompanied by other factors. The Katz studies, for example, suggest that an atmosphere combining low social threat and high expectation of success can have a facilitating effect on the intellectual performance of Negro students.

With appropriate training procedures and other manipulations, it should prove possible to circumvent or reduce the educationally and psychologically undesirable experiences which are likely to affect the newly integrated student for a considerable period of his schooling. For example, enough is known about the learning conditions which facilitate the development of debilitating anxiety so that therapeutic approaches to instruction might be created (O'Reilly, 1969). Similarly, opportunities for positive interracial contact could be systematically created for the disadvantaged minority student. Teachers could be trained to inhibit negative affective reactions toward students who exhibit "undesirable" social-class linked behavior. With the addition of effective training in teaching procedures and instructional materials for disadvantaged students, the stage may be set for more systematic utilization of classroom social interaction processes with theoretically probable positive consequences on the intellectual and psychological development of the socially and economically disadvantaged student. It seems reasonable to contend that, if these and other factors had been given careful attention in the studies of integration examined in this report, differences favoring integrated students would have been far more substantial.

Summary and Conclusions

Much of the material in this chapter has been devoted to reviewing integration studies that were conducted by individual school systems and were not connected with either the Coleman *et al*. report or the RIPS report. The studies were dissected in an effort to determine whether certain factors influenced the integration process. Now that the separation process has been completed, it is appropriate to make some general statements about the studies themselves and to draw whatever conclusions seem to be justified.

The major problem faced in any review of research studies is trying to decide whether or not the findings reported in the studies can be attributed to the treatments which were used. Often researchers believe that they are only applying one treatment in a study when in fact they are applying several at the same time. Thus, when they come to draw their conclusions they may attribute any differences which they find to the specific treatment they believed they were applying and not to other correlated factors that were in operation at the same time. In addition to this, the situation can also exist where the researcher knows that more than one treatment is occurring at the same time, but he believes that the ones other than the specific one he is concerned with are not relevant to the problem and will have no effect on the outcomes. Of course, in both of these situations there is room for different interpretations and the reviewer must decide what the most valid interpretations seem to be and the degree of confidence which can be placed in each of a number of interpretations.

The general purpose of most of the studies reviewed on the preceding pages was to determine if the highly complex variable termed integration had any effect on student achievement. The Coleman et al. and RIPS reports, both reviewed in a previous chpater, pointed to a number of factors which appear to have an effect on achievement. Since these and other reports established that certain factors are related to student achievement any other research studies will have to be examined in regard to whether these factors have been taken into account.

The following example may serve to clarify this point. Let us say that a researcher is interested in finding out if Negro students who are integrated make greater achievement gains than Negro students who are not integrated. He therefore decides that he will take two groups of Negro students and integrate one group and then compare their achievement to the group of students that has not been integrated. In doing this he makes the assumption that the group of integrated students is equal to the group of nonintegrated students in every important way except that one is integrated and one is not integrated. However, this ignores, among other things, findings from the Coleman et al. report which indicate that schools attended by minority group students are more likely to have somewhat poorer facilities and curricula and be lower on other indicators of school quality as well. These factors in turn are more strongly related to achievement for minority group students than for whites. Since the researcher in our example has moved one group of students out of what is likely to be a poorer school, according to Coleman et al., and into a better school, he does not appear to be simply studying the effects of integration on achievement. Added to integration, very likely, is a better school situation, and, if differences are found between Negro student achievement in the integrated and segregated settings, the results may be erroneously attributed to the interracial experience itself. In order to actually know how much of the difference was due to race effect, the researcher would have had to control for differences in school quality and for any other factors which have been shown to have a relationship to school achievement.

As mentioned earlier, Coleman et al., the RIPS report and other studies turned up a number of relationships between achievement and various other factors. In order to judge the adequacy of the studies under consideration here, it will be necessary to first specify what these factors are and then determine if the studies under review have accounted for them. The most important factor in accounting for differences in achievement is general intelligence, and this one factor may account for as much as fifty percent of all achievement differences. Following intelligence, the social class background of the individual student is most related to academic achievement. When intelligence is controlled for, high achievement is more likely to be found among students coming from higher social class backgrounds. Other factors which are somewhat related to achievement are certain educationally relevant attitudes held by the individual student. Depending on the individual, such things as sense of control over the environment, self-concept and educationally relevant values have been shown to be related to achievement, independently of social class and other achievement related factors. When comparisons among schools are made, then differences between schools in student social class composition, ability and quality of programs, facilities and teacher characteristics may account for substantial proportions of the corresponding differences between schools in student achievement. The studies under review very rarely attended to between-school differences on these relevant variables and rarely controlled for any but one or two major differences between groups of segregated and desegregated students. Further than this, there was no instance of a control for between-classroom effects. This last methodological criticism is of considerable importance, since differences between classrooms on educationally relevant factors have more significance for understanding of the process of integration than differences between schools (cf. Coleman _et al_., 1966; McPartland, 1967).

One result of the lack of control or study of educationally relevant variables in the great bulk of studies reviewed in this chapter is that the contribution to knowledge of the integration process is gross, or effectively ignores the finer points of many interacting phenomena. It should be noted, however, that some of the studies reviewed had a more or less effective control for initial differences in ability between segregated and desegregated groups. It should also be noted that the lack of control for between-school differences in school quality in the bulk of the studies reviewed is likely of much less significance than accounting for variation in such factors as individual social class background and social class composition of the school. Differences between schools on factors of school quality may have been minimal or even reversed in the segregated-desegregated comparisons, since the ghetto schools frequently tended to have special programs and facilities and in some cases new schools.

Before going any further, it is worthwhile to discuss two additional limitations of the finding reviewed in this chapter. First, it should be noted that many of the studies were conducted over a one year period, with the rest covering two years or less. Since any effects of the gross integration variable are frequently not evident at the end of one or even two years (Wilson, 1967), it would appear that integration studies which focus on educational development alone and which are of short duration, do not constitute an adequate evaluation. The second major limitation of most of the studies reviewed is the failure to consider in detail the effects of integration on white students and other ethnic minorities. Thus, these studies offer nearly nothing concerning educational development of Puerto Ricans and only slightly more information on the white majority.

One conclusion which may be made on the basis of the studies reviewed in this chapter is that, as a group, integrated Negro students achieved at least as well as their segregated counterparts, and in many cases achieved at higher levels. In the latter instances, the differences ranged from those that are relatively small but significant to those which appear to indicate dramatic gains for integrated Negro students, as in the Berkeley study. Overall, nonsignificant differences greatly outweigh those that are significant and no particular subject area seems to be more consistently affected by the gross integration experience than any other. Two additional conclusions appear to be justified on the basis of overall results. First, it is evident that, although groups of segregated students frequently achieved as well as integrated students, or the differences between integrated and segregated groups were only minimally significant--in only one instance did segregated student groups achieve at a significantly higher level than integrated students. Moreover, in this instance, the results appear to be invalidated by nonequivalent comparison groups. The second conclusion generated by the data examined is that the achievement of Negro students seems to be more or less facilitated under a wide variety of conditions in the integrated school setting. This trend, together with the results examined in Coleman _et al_. and the RIPS report, leads to the conclusion that the integrated setting has a relatively greater potential for the achievement of Negro students, when compared with the achievement of Negroes in segregated educational settings.

This potential for increased Negro student achievement appears to operate at both the elementary and secondary levels. Most of the studies under review were conducted at the elementary school level and several indicated superior achievement in a number of achievement areas by the integrated Negro students. While there was a dearth of studies dealing with the secondary level, what was available indicated that in certain instances integrated students did better than their segregated counterparts.

The examination of these studies also indicates that superior achievement on the part of integrated Negro students appeared in various kinds of integration programs. Apparently there was less superior achievement under the open enrollment programs than under some other forms of voluntary transfer or under programs of forced transfer. Integrated Negro students also exhibited significantly better achievement than their segregated counterparts in both bussing programs within the city and bussing programs out to the suburbs. In both instances the same kind of phenomenon appears to be at work. The Negro students are being placed in a racially integrated situation and in a situation where the social class composition of the school is noticeably higher than in the home school. In the one study that dealt directly with social class composition, integrated Negro students in the school with a higher social class composition showed better achievement than Negro students in an integrated school with lower social class composition. Some reservations must be made about the study, and it can only be said that there appears to be a tendency for Negro students in an integrated school with a high social class composition to do better than Negro students in an integrated school where social class composition is lower.

Another area of concern in this chapter is determination of the relationship between proportion-white in the classroom and achievement of Negro students. The findings of the studies reviewed were roughly similar to those of Coleman _et al_. and Wilson (1967). That is, any positive association between proportion white in the classroom and achievement for Negro students generally does not appear to be present or meaningful from a practical point of view until the proportion white exceeds 50 percent. The studies in this chapter further suggest that the proportion of disadvantaged Negro student in the typical advantaged majority-white school should not exceed roughly 30 percent if a facilitating effect is expected on Negro achievement. There is the bare suggestion from the data that where Negro students constitute a very small minority (less than 10 percent) in a majority white school, they tend to perform less well than Negro students who constitute a larger minority proportion in majority white schools. The data on this relationship at the lower end of the distribution of proportion Negro in the school are very limited and somewhat inconclusive. Also, it is likely that the 10 to 30 percent Negro proportion indicated as probably most desirable would expand or contract, depending upon other factors such as the level of social class background, ability and academically related attitudes of both the minority Negro groups and the majority white groups in the schools. One thing that does seem fairly certain from an examination of the results of the studies reviewed in this chapter and the results of Coleman _et al_. and the RIPS report: It is unlikely that the achievement of minority groups students will be facilitated in an academic setting of roughly 50 percent white middle-class students, if the integrated minority groups are predominantly from lower-social class levels with the usually attendant cognitive, motivational and psychological deficits.

An additional concern of most integration efforts is the effect that it may have on white student achievement and school instructional programs. The evidence presented in these research studies gives no reason to believe that white student achievement suffers under integration. Of all the studies reporting findings about white students, none of them showed that white achievement was impaired by integration itself. The Queens study which tended to suggest that white student achievement was adversely affected by transfer to Negro schools must be regarded as inconclusive. While it appears that integration is not detrimental to white achievement, it must be acknowledged that integration often does create some problems. Teachers are often faced with students whose achievement is behind their classmates, and their different behavior patterns sometimes create the need to alter some aspects of the teacher-student interaction process. Reports of the schools that have instituted these various integration projects show few indications that their instructional programs have suffered as a result. One noticeable change has been that many of these schools have altered their curriculum to include more study of minority group contributions and to provide activities designed to promote greater interracial understanding.

Review of the studies dealing with interracial acceptance and the promulgation of achievement values in Negro students indicates that integration by itself does not automatically bring about improvement in either of these areas. In fact, a poorly handled integration program may prove to be severely debilitating for students in both major racial groups. While the studies indicate that integration may not necessarily have positive effects, they also show that the integrated setting has a great potential for producing better interracial understanding and an increased orientation toward achievement values. Whether or not these positive effects are experienced is dependent upon how the integration program is conducted. Research suggests that integration will have a facilitating effect on Negro achievement if it embodies, among other things, an atmosphere comprised of low social threat and high achievement expectation. The schools as they are presently constituted have the potential to create this kind of atmosphere. Efforts can be undertaken to alter situations within the school that are potentially anxiety producing. The schools can establish both educational and social programs that are directed toward the removal of intellectual deficits and promotion of interracial understanding. Teachers can set an example for their Negro and white students in their conduct of day to day social relations. Anxiety can be further reduced by working within the instructional program to remove practices which are threatening and unnecessary to the learning process.

The reports of several studies which attempted to gather some data on the relationship between integration and interracial acceptance indicated little or no realization of the fact that integration might require a number of social and educational changes if it is to be maximally effective. Nevertheless, the subjective reports of students, teachers and principals indicate that one of the major strengths of their integration programs was the increase in interracial understanding. These reports have in some instances been subjective in nature, but the overall results from subjective and objective studies strongly suggest that the processes of instruction and social interaction in the classroom may be manipulated in ways which would substantially facilitate educational development in Negro students. Another expected positive effect would be the establishment of more positive racial understandings and attitudes on the part of both Negroes and whites, a goal which needs little in the way of supporting argument considering the professed ideals of American society.

Finally, it must be noted that even in cases where integrated Negro student achievement was superior to segregated Negro student achievement, the integrated Negro student generally remained behind the white student in achievement. What has happened then is that, on an overall basis, integration has helped the Negro student to close some of the achievement gap that is found between white and Negro students. Integration without specific programs to accompany it would not appear to have the potential to completely close this gap. Neither does it appear that just one kind of program will make up for the difference. It has been clearly shown that the question is too complex to be resolved by one procedure; various efforts will need to be undertaken. As has been suggested earlier, one of those procedures might be to construct a specific kind of social atmosphere within the integrated setting. Another procedure would be to provide disadvantaged prekindergarten students with certain kinds of cognitive learning before they reach their first year of formal schooling. Efforts which provide for remedial assistance while the student is going through the grades may also be of help in closing the achievement gap. A greater employment of instructional materials which provide for more individual pacing and positive reinforcement also has the potential to improve the integrated situation.

What has been done so far represents only the beginning of a program whose potential is as yet unexplored.

CHAPTER VI

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION

Integration seeks to assure equality of educational opportunity for members of minority groups by eliminating segregation within the schools. Compensatory education seeks to overcome deficiencies in the disadvantaged so that they may profit from educational experience and participate more fully in the economic and social life of an affluent America. Because minority groups are those most likely to suffer economic and cultural deprivation, compensatory education has been most frequently directed toward minority group members---Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans. It is therefore appropriate to give attention in this report to compensatory education programs, the results they are achieving and their relation to the immediate issue--integration.

The current national focus on the education of the disadvantaged is the consequence of a number of factors:

1. The civil rights movement
2. The persistence of poverty in a land of plenty
3. The dominance of technology with the growing demand for intellectual talent and the diminishing need for unskilled labor in modern society.
4. The decline of the cities, the concentration of the unemployed in urban centers and the tension of the ghettos.

5. Increasing welfare rolls and mounting tax burdens

All of these have prompted interest in and support for compensatory education programs. The presumption is made that special educational programs for the deprived will break the cycle of school failure, school dropout, minimal employment or unemployment and economic dependency in which the poor are caught and will benefit both the disadvantaged and the entire nation. In short, compensatory education is the outgrowth of both humanitarian concerns and practical economic considerations.

Underlying the current commitment to compensatory education is a general ideational orientation without which the formulation of compensatory education programs as a possible solution to the problem of disadvantagement would not have occurred. This orientation is a combination of faith in individual human potential and the belief that human behavior is predictable and can be directed and modified. It is the latter belief that is fundamental to all of education.

From a theoretical point of view, compensatory education is a product of the environmentalist school of thought. Members of this school adhere to the postulate that the human mind, a tabula rasa at birth, may take a limitless number of forms depending upon the environmental circumstances experienced in the course of its development. They hold that it is the interaction of the organism with the environment, not genetic inheritance, that determines intellectual functioning and most of human behavior. It follows that as the environment can be controlled and structured, so can human development be controlled and directed. It is the posture of the environmentalist-interactionist to perceive:

> ... the developmental process as malleable, to regard intelligence as nonstatic and variable, to see motives and attitudes as determined and modifiable by experience, and to recognize all achievement as the

> product of the individual's characteristics in continuous and dynamic interaction with those elements of the environment which are effective at a given time (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966, p. 26).

In the case of the disadvantaged, it is believed that environmental deprivation (economic, social and cultural) is directly responsible for retarded intellectual development and academic accomplishment. The negative relationship between deprivation and achievement has been documented in numerous studies, and a previous chapter of this report has enumerated some of the specific effects of disadvantagement on the young child. Children of poverty enter school poorly motivated and with inadequate cognitive skills and fall farther and farther behind their middle-class peers.

Compensatory education programs are directed at overcoming the environmental deficiencies and negative experiences of the disadvantaged and altering their usual course of development. Four approaches to compensatory education, all of which may be incorporated in a single program were noted in the RIPS report (1967). They are:

1. Remedial instruction: giving intensive attention to students with poor achievement. Remedial efforts include reducing teacher-pupil ratios and class size, providing extra help during and after school hours, counseling and using special materials to teach and improve basic skills.

2. Cultural enrichment: broadening the horizons of the poor by exposing them to activities usually beyond their reach. Cultural enrichment programs may include field trips, concerts, plays and visits to museums, other schools and colleges.

3. Building self esteem: overcoming negative attitudes which inhibit learning and cause failure. Efforts to promote self esteem and confidence range from providing educational experiences that will bring success and recognition to instituting courses in Negro history. Attention may be given to the outlook of teachers as well as pupils.

4. Parental involvement: enlisting parental cooperation

> to promote pupil achievement. Efforts to work with parents include both assuring them of school concern for their children and offering suggestions by which they may help to improve their children's academic performance.

Compensatory programs have been introduced at all educational levels from preschool through college. They have such diverse objectives as raising capacity to learn, teaching a specific occupational skill or turning a functional illiterate into a reader. Compensatory programs are indeed so varied and so numerous as to preclude any thorough review of past or present programs within the context of this report. The present examination of compensatory programs focuses on preschool education (which represents the newest frontier for compensatory education), some of the landmark programs which have served as models for other programs and Title I efforts. In examining these programs, consideration will be given to their measured effects and the extent to which they have changed the school performance of the disadvantaged. Finally, the effects of some integration programs on pupil performance will be examined and compared with those obtained in compensatory education programs initiated in the public schools.

Preschool Education

The current emphasis on preschool education in compensatory programs for the disadvantaged is based on the assumption that the early years of life contribute heavily to the development of intellectual potential and future academic achievement and the fact that, even at school entrance, there are substantial differences between children of low socioeconomic background and their middle-class peers. Research findings on the effects of stimulus deprivation and other factors on intellectual development have led to an educational paradigm in which preschool experiences are expected to make up for similar deprivations in the home environment assumed to handicap the child in the school setting. In general, preschool programs have three types of objectives - cognitive, affective and physical. Specific programs vary in their area of emphasis and in the techniques used to attain their goals. The preschool programs reviewed include Project Head Start and some smaller experimental programs.

Project Head Start

The largest single compensatory education program ever undertaken was Project Head Start, initiated in 1965 by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Launched on a nationwide scale, the program was designed to prepare young disadvantaged children for school through a full array of educational, medical, nutritional and social services. It was intended to overcome in a brief time the cognitive, psychological, physical and familial handicaps that may impede the learning of the disadvantaged child as he enters school. By the spring of 1969, nearly three million youngsters had been served by Head Start, over two million in summer programs and nearly 800 thousand in full-year programs (Lewis, 1969).

To date, two studies with national samples have dealt with the effects of Head Start on cognitive and psychological development. One is a subsection of the U. S. Office of Education's _Survey on Equality of Educational Opportunity_ (Coleman _et al_., 1966); the other is the Westinghouse-Ohio University report on _The Impact of Head Start_ (1969). The first came immediately after the first summer of Head Start operation; the second was done when the program had been underway for over three years.

Survey on Equality of Educational Opportunity--The evaluation of

Head Start made by Coleman et al. utilized data collected for the broad-scale study of educational opportunity. Three samples of first grade pupils were randomly selected from the total grade 1 population: (1) children who had attended Head Start summer programs in the summer of 1965 (approximately 9,000); (2) children in the same schools who had not participated in Head Start or in any similar program (approximately 6,000); and (3) children in communities where Head Start was not available and who had not participated in any similar program (approximately 12,000). The latter two samples served as control groups for comparison purposes, based on indexes of achievement and educational motivation.

The achievement measures used were three subtests of the Inter-American Tests of General Ability: a picture vocabulary test giving a score for verbal ability, and association and classification tests yielding a score on nonverbal ability. Educational motivation or desire to learn was determined by teacher responses to questions on pupils' classroom behavior and interest in school activities.

The results of the achievement tests showed that:

1. Head Start participants of a given race did not perform as well as nonparticipants of the same race. The poor children who attended Head Start did not catch up with their classmates.
2. Head Start Negroes in Southern states had higher test scores than Negro nonparticipants attending the same schools.
3. Head Start Negroes in metropolitan communities outside the South and Head Start whites in the metropolitan South who did not attend kindergarten showed positive

effects when compared with nonparticipants who had also not attended kindergarten.

4. With race, region, kindergarten attendance and socioeconomic status controlled, the scores of the poorest Head Start participants were consistently higher than those of comparable children in the same schools. Specifically, Negroes of low socioeconomic status, particularly those in rural areas, were those who had benefitted most.
5. In general, differences between experimental and control groups were small.

Analysis of teacher ratings showed that:

1. Head Start participants of the lowest socioeconomic status had higher ratings than did nonparticipants.
2. There was a tendency for all Negro participants to be more highly motivated than nonparticipants.
3. For whites, differential motivational effects were found for Head Start participants of the lowest socioeconomic status in some regions.
4. Generally, the effects of participation were more noticeable in the area of educational motivation than for achievement test performance.

In summary, the Coleman et al. (1966) data did not reveal any overall successes for Head Start but indicated some modest benefits for the poorest children, particularly Negroes, in some locations. It should be noted that the analyses on the effects of Head Start are based on differences in mean scores, but the study gives no indication of the significance of the differences reported. Perhaps this is because the sample sizes are so large that almost any difference would be statistically significant, and those found were small. The study has the further disadvantage of not having had pre-treatment data that would assure the initial equivalence of the groups compared and thus more confidently indicate changes resulting from the program. While the Coleman et al. study was done when Head Start was a brand new program, recently implemented on a crash basis, it will be seen that the findings for regional and ethnic differences in program effectiveness are not inconsistent with those reported three years later in the second nationwide study described below.

The Westinghouse Report--The Westinghouse Learning Corporation-Ohio University assessment of Head Start was undertaken in 1968 at the request of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The findings reported here appeared in the preliminary report on The Impact of Head Start released in April 1969.

The evaluation focused on cognitive and affective development and compared Head Start children in first, second and third grade with comparable children who did not attend Head Start. To obtain the study population, a total of 104 Head Start centers were randomly selected from among the 12,927 centers operating during the period from September 1966 to August 1967. Populations of Head Start children and control children (i.e., children who were eligible for but did not attend Head Start) were then identified in the geographical areas served by each center. In each area random samples of eight Head Start children were drawn at each of the three grade levels and matched with control samples on race, sex and kindergarten attendance. There was a total of 3,963 subjects: 1,582 in grade 1, 1,535 in grade 2 and 846 in grade 3. Not all programs had children in all three grades.

In the analysis of the data, distinctions were made between full-year and summer programs. Reflecting the distribution of such programs in the country, 70 percent or 75 of those in the study were summer programs and 30 percent or 29 were full-year programs. After analysis of the total sample in each category, the programs were subdivided for analysis by geographic location, by community size and by ethnic composition.

Standardized tests, the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities, the Metropolitan Readiness Tests, and the Stanford Achievement Tests, Primary Batteries I and II, were used to measure cognitive development. Three instruments developed especially for the project were used to assess affective development. Two were projective tests, the Children's Self Concept Index (CSCI) and the Children's Attitudinal Range Indicator (CARI). The latter covered attitudes toward peers, home, school and society. The third was the Classroom Behavior Inventory (CBI), a rating scale completed by the teachers which assessed motivation for school achievement. All test and rating data were collected in the first two and one-half months of the 1968-69 school year. In addition, all parents were interviewed to obtain attitudinal, social and economic data, and information was collected on the Head Start programs and the elementary schools attended.

A covariance random replications model, using socioeconomic status as the covariate, was used in the data analysis with the .05 level of probability used as the critical region for rejecting the null hypothesis. Results were crosschecked and, in general, confirmed by a nonparametric approach.

Major Conclusions--The analysis of the data led to four major conclusions (Westinghouse, 1969):

1. Summer Head Start programs appeared to be ineffective in producing any gains in cognitive and affective development that persisted into the elementary grades.
2. Full-year Head Start programs appeared to be ineffective in terms of affective development, but were somewhat effective in producing gains in cognitive development that could be detected in grades 1, 2 and 3. Programs were of greatest effectiveness in the Southeast, in core cities of over 50,000 and in all-Negro centers.
3. On language development and scholastic achievement, Head Start children were still in a disadvantaged position with respect to national norms.
4. Head Start parents approved the program and its influence on their children, and participated in center activities.

Specific findings: The specific findings leading to the first three conclusions on cognitive and affective efforts are summarized below by type of program.

Summer Programs (75 in number):

I. Total Sample:

A. ITPA: No significant differences on total test or subtests at any grade level. Observed differences in total score at each grade level favored controls. The total raw score of the Head Start children was on the average about one-half to two-thirds of a standard deviation below the norms for their chronological ages.

B. MRT, Grade 1: No significant difference on total score, but control mean higher. Controls were significantly higher on two subtests, Word Meaning and Listening. The Head Start total readiness score was at the 44th percentile, slightly below the national average.

C. SAT, Grade 2: Battery median of controls significantly higher than battery median of Head Start. There were significant differences favoring controls on three subtests. Head Start children were more than half a year below the national norms in grade equivalents; percentile ranks on subtests ranged from 29 for Vocabulary to 9 for Spelling. At Grade 3 there were no significant differences on total or subtest scores but the battery median of the controls was higher. Head Start children were almost one full year below grade level on national norms with percentile ranks ranging from 21 on Language to 10 on Arithmetic Computations.

D. CSCI: There were no significant differences in grades 1 and 3, but the controls were significantly higher in grade 2.

E. CRI: No significant differences at any grade level.

F. CARI: In grade 1, Head Start children's attitudes toward "Home" were significantly more positive than controls. No other significant differences were found at any grade level.

II. Subgroups:

The subgroup analysis by geographic location, community size and the ethnic composition of the centers, permitted a total of 893 comparisons between Head Start and control children on the six different measures. Altogether there were 61 significant differences, and 45 of these favored the controls. Forty-five of the differences were on the cognitive measures with the controls superior in 34 instances. The 16 differences on the affective measure were equally divided between Head Start and control children.

The only subgroupings showing significant differences for Head Start children were centers in the Southeast and those with mostly Negro participatns. Out of a possible 76 comparisons Head Start children in mainly Negro Centers were superior on only four cognitive and two affective comparisons and those in the Southeast centers were superior on only one cognitive and two affective comparisons.

Full-Year Programs (29 in number):

I. Total Sample

A. ITPA: No significant differences on total language score at any grade level, but significant differences were obtained in favor of Grade 2 Head Start children on two subtests: Visual Sequence and Manual Expression. Scaled scores for Head Start children were about one-half standard deviation below the normative group mean.

B. MRT: Head Start children scored significantly higher on Total Readiness and on Listening. The Total Readiness score of the Head Start children was at the 51.74 percentile of the national norms.

C. SAT: Grade 2: No significant differences obtained on the battery median or on any of the subscores. Head Start children were about one-half year below national norms in grade equivalents.

At Grade 3: (six centers only) no significant differences were obtained between Head Start children and controls. Head Start children were a full year or more below in national grade equivalents with percentile rankings ranging from 6 on Arithemetic Computation to 23 on Language.

D. CSCI: No significant differences at any of the three grade levels.

E. CBI: No significant differences at any grade level.

F. CARI: No significant differences at any grade level.

II. Subgroups

Of a total of 350 comparisons between Head Start children and controls, 40 showed significant differences. The Head Start children were superior on 34 cognitive and two affective comparisons, over 10 percent of all

> comparisons. The controls had significantly higher scores on two cognitive and two affective measures. Head Start centers in the Southeast had 10 significant differences, all on cognitive measures. Those in the West had six significant cognitive differences, and those with mainly Negro participants had five as did centers in core cities with over 50,000 population. Ten favorable significant differences occurred on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests in grade 1 and 14 on the ITPA in grade 2. There was no subgroup analysis at grade 3 because of insufficient cases.

The critical factor in this evaluation of Head Start is the incidence of statistically significant differences between Head Start and control children. The minimal number of such differences in the summer programs and the superiority of the control children in the majority of cases where they did appear clearly support a negative conclusion as to their effectiveness. It is interesting that, in their summations, the evaluators chose to emphasize the lack of differences favoring the Head Start children while failing to reiterate the data on those favoring the controls.

The more positive findings on the effects of the full-year program on cognitive development are generally equivocal and subject to further consideration. One consideration is the extent of the differences between Head Start and control children. While statistically significant, the differences found were small in magnitude and were, in fact, questioned by the investigators as to their practical significance. For example, the comparisons on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests, the sole basis for Head

Start superiority for the total full-year sample, indicate a mean raw score for Head Start children of 51.74, while that for the controls was 48.46 (a difference of approximately .15 standard deviations on the national norms). This is less than the difference of one-half a standard deviation which has been defined by some as "educationally worthwhile" (Westinghouse, 1969). In the subgroup analyses, in only one instance, the miscellaneous racial-ethnic category, does the total MRT score difference reach this level of practical significance.

When the other standardized test scores are analyzed in a similar way, differences approaching or exceeding a meaningful magnitude are found in a number of the subgroup analyses.

A major limitation of the Westinghouse study, recognized by the evaluators, is that it is a post hoc study and there is no way of knowing the comparative standings of the Head Start children and their controls before the program. Matching on sex, race and kindergarten attendance and using socioeconomic data in a covariance analysis does not control for initial differences in capacity or development. The use of the term "gains" in the conclusions thus suggests more information than is actually available.

Another limitation is the lumping together of programs without regard to possible program distinctions which might have had differential effects. The question is raised by the evaluators about the adequacy with which the program had been implemented, and it is suggested that the lack of more positive findings reflects poor implementation (Westinghouse, 1969). Subgroup variations in success also suggest the possibility of differential implementation according to locale and community size. Another implication that might be drawn is that Head Start was more effective with certain types of pupils than others. This implication likewise suggests that initial capacity and level of development, as well as input, may be critical to outcomes.

The main thrust of the Westinghouse Report was its final recommendation that summer Head Start programs be phased out, but that full-year Head Start programs be retained and every effort be made to make them more effective. Specific suggestions were: (1) to offer programs of longer duration, extending downward to infancy and upward into grade school; (2) to vary procedures in accord with pupil characteristics; (3) to concentrate on the remediation of specific deficiencies; and (4) to train parents to become more effective teachers of their children. Asserting that the benefits of full-year Head Start could not be described as satisfactory, the Report urged more extensive research into new procedures and techniques for remediating disadvantagement in young children.

Innovative Preschool Programs

The topic of programming for the preschool, the basic issue raised by the Westinghouse Report, is one that has been and is currently the subject of much controversy. Research into effective early intervention procedures for the disadvantaged had begun well in advance of Head Start with educational and research psychologists proposing some radical departures from traditional approaches. Some of these innovations have been made a part of some Head Start and other preschool programs. A number of the better known program researches are discussed in the following section.

Peabody Early Training Project--One preschool program for the disadvantaged which has received nationwide attention is the Early Training Project conducted at George Peabody College in Tennessee (Klaus and Gray, 1967). Here an attempt was made to develop an intervention approach that would affect school performance, based on research on social class cognitive development and motivation. The project had a total of 86 subjects in two experimental and two control groups. One control group was located 60 miles away from the others and was included to assess diffusion effects in the local community. All subjects were Negro children born in 1958, whose families were judged to be disadvantaged on the basis of home setting, parents' education and parents' occupation. Local children were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups.

One experimental group, starting at ages three and one-half to four and one-half, participated in three ten-week summer programs while the second experimental group, starting at ages four and one-half to five and one-half, attended two such summer programs before entry into first grade in 1964. (There was no kindergarten in the community.) Between summer sessions and in the first year of elementary school there was a program of home visitations for the experimental group.

The project was concerned with both attitudes toward and aptitudes for achievement. Efforts were made: (1) to encourage achievement motivation, persistence, delay of gratification, interest in school-type activities and identification with achieving role models; (2) to develop perception (the ability to make discriminations in visual, auditory and other modalities); and (3) to teach concept development (colors, roles, numbers, size, direction, position and the like) and language usage. While the program used much of the equipment and followed many of the activities of a traditional nursery school, reinforcement techniques using material as well as psychological and affectional rewards were systematically and extensively employed to bring about desired behaviors. Parental participation was enlisted through home contacts in which the visitor assisted the parents with specific techniques for furthering their children's educational progress.

Periodic evaluations, through 1966 when the children were finishing second grade, showed the following results:

1. Stanford-Binet (seven administrations--1962-1966): While there were no significant differences among the groups on the initial testing, there was a significant difference ($p = < .05$) between the experimental groups combined and the control groups combined at the end of second grade.

2. The first experimental group (T_1) showed a significant gain of 14.4 points in mean IQ, (87.6 - 102.0) at the end of the first summer session and then a loss of 5.6 points over the next winter. The two control groups also made significant IQ gains on the testing following their initial experiences in a formal educational program, i.e., at the end of grade 1. All four groups showed a loss in IQ from the end of first to the end of second grade. The net changes over the four years were:

Experimental	T_1:	+ 3.6 pts.	(87.6 - 91.2)
	T_2:	+ 3.5 pts.	(92.5 - 96.0)
Control	T_3:	+ 2.5 pts.	(85.4 - 87.9)
	T_4:	- 2.1 pts.	(86.9 - 84.8)

3. Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC): On three administrations of the WISC in 1964, 1965 and 1966, the experimentals were superior to the controls. Sub-

stantial gains of 8 to 10 points were made by all four groups between the first and second testings.

4. Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities: The ITPA was administered before entry into first grade and at the end of first and second grades. The language age of the experimental groups combined was significantly greater than that of the two control groups on the first two testings but not on the third. The language age scores of the experimental groups dropped substantially on the last testing, while those of the local control group went up moderately. The distal controls had the lowest scores on the ITPA.
5. Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) [nine administrations 1962-1966]: The PPVT was given a total of nine times, using the alternate forms of the test for each administration. There were no significant differences between groups on the initial testing. On the second testing the first experimental group (T_1), which had then completed one summer program, had a significantly higher mental age score than did the three other groups combined. This significant difference was not sustained on the next testing. After the second summer program there were significant differences between the experimentals combined and the controls combined on all testings.
6. Reading Readiness Tests: Both the Metropolitan and the Gates Reading Readiness Tests were given at the beginning of grade 1. The two experimental groups had significant-

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ly higher scores than the control groups on all subtests of the batteries except the Sentence section of the MRT. The experimental groups were significantly different from each other on one subtest; the local control group was superior ($p < .05$) to the distal control group on three subtests.

7. Achievement Tests: Metropolitan Achievement Tests were given at the end of grade 1 and grade 2. The experimental groups had significantly higher grade level scores than did the controls on three of the four Primary I subtests at the end of first grade and on two of the five Primary II subtests at the end of second grade. In four cases the significant differences between experimentals and controls were due to the lower scores of the distal control group . The Stanford Achievement Tests (Primary I Battery) were given twice, in February and again in May of the last evaluation year. On both testings the grade equivalent scores of the experimental groups were significantly higher than those of controls combined on two subtests, Word Reading and Paragraph Meaning. In three instances this was due to the significantly lower scores of the distal control groups. There were significant differences between the local and distal control groups on both administrations of two other subtests, Word Study Skills and Arithmetic.

In all of the achievement subtests, the mean scores were somewhat below grade level for the time of administration.

The highest subtest score on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests at the end of grade 2 was a mean of 2.85 for experimental group two on Spelling. The other subtest scores for the experimentals ranged from 2.32 to 2.75. The local control group had means of 2.29 to 2.65 while the distal control group had grade equivalent means between 1.98 and 2.20. On the Stanford Achievement Test administered in May of the second grade, the range of subtest means were: Experimentals, 1.92 to 2.38 and 1.88 to 2.36; local controls, 1.89-2.29 and distal controls, 1.64-2.01.

8. Affective Measures: On Kagan's Matching Familiar Figures Test, a measure of cognitive style given at the end of the preschool period, the experimentals were significantly more reflective than were the controls. On other measures of self concept, reputation among peers, delayed gratification, achievement motivation and social perception there were no sustained significant differences.

Summary: The Early Learning Training Project demonstrated the posibility of modifying the IQ and language performance of disadvantaged children through a preschool intervention program. Differences in readiness and achievement performance between experimental and control children in first and second grades were attributed to the early intervention. The differential in the performance of local and distal control groups was seen as a consequence of diffusion in the local community where experimental and control families were in immediate contact. The possible effects of differing school situations and teacher variables were also acknowledged. The decline in IQ scores at the end of second grade was regarded as evidence of the need for sustained efforts to counteract familial deficiencies (Klaus and Gray, 1967).

Perry Preschool Project--Another early intervention program which has received considerable attention is the Perry Preschool Project operated by the public schools of Ypsilanti, Michigan. This project was designed to determine through longitudinal evaluation the effects of a cognitive program upon the intellectual development and educational performance of culturally deprived Negro children diagnosed as educably mentally retarded. The program provided morning preschool classes, afternoon home visits by which mothers were involved in the education of their children and group meetings for the parents. One distinguishing element of the preschool classes was the teachers' use of "verbal bombardment", a method of drawing the child's attention to his environment by a steady stream of questions and comments. The curriculum has been described as permissive and teacher-structured with emphasis on verbal stimulation and interaction for cognitive rather than social development (Weikart, Kamii and Radin, 1964; Weikart, 1967). All subjects in this project were drawn from the immediate school district; eligibility was based on I.Q. and a Cultural Deprivation Rating which took into account parental occupations, parental education and home density (rooms per person). Subjects were divided into two groups matched on these criteria and roughly balanced as to sex and percentage of working mothers. The groups were arbitrarily designated as experimental and control.

In 1962-63, the initial year of the project, there were two sets or waves of experimental and control groups: Wave 0 made up of four-year olds and Wave 1 made up of three-year olds. Additional groups of three-year olds have been added to the project in subsequent years. Evaluative data for the first three Waves (0, 1 and 2) are available on a number of measures.

1. Stanford-Binet: The Stanford-Binet was administered as a pretest, post test and follow-up measure. The three waves of experimental children made substantial I.Q. gains in the first year of preschool: Wave 0, 12.7 points; Wave 1, 11.5 points and Wave 2, 20.4 points. All three were significantly different from their controls at the end of one year of preschool.

   The Wave 0 experimentals, 13 children who entered the project as four-year olds, were not significantly different from their controls at the end of kindergarten or first grade. Through a combination of losses for the experimentals and gains for the controls, the groups were almost identical in mean I.Q. at the end of second grade. The net change over the years had been 7.1 points (from 78.4 to 85.5) for the experimentals and 8.9 points (from 75.0 to 83.9) for the controls.

   The Wave 1 and Wave 2 children who had entered the program as three-year olds were significantly different from their controls at the end of one year. The significance level was higher for the 13 Wave 2 experimentals than for the 10 Wave 1 experimentals ($p < .001$) as compared to $p < .05$). While the Wave 1 experimentals were still superior to the controls at the end of the second preschool year, the significance level had dropped ($p < .10$). Continuation of the Wave 0 pattern of diminishing differences between experimentals and controls was cited but not documented.

2. Leiter International Performance Scale: Arthur Adaptation: This test was also given as a pre-post measure but at varying intervals which beclouded initial differences and gains. After an interval of two years, at the end of Kindergarten for Wave 0, and at the end of preschool for Wave 1, there were no significant differences between experimentals and controls. At the end of one year of preschool, the Wave 2 experimentals scored significantly higher ($p < .001$) than their controls.
3. Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test: At the end of Kindergarten, the Wave 0 control children had a higher mean I.Q. on the PPVT than did the experimentals (76.8 versus 74.7) but the difference was not significant. The experimental children in Waves 1 and 2 were significantly superior to their controls ($p < .01$): Wave 1 at the end of two years of preschool and Wave 2 at the end of one year.
4. Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities: The ITPA was given as a post test measure to Waves 0 and 1 after two years. At the end of kindergarten, Wave 0 had higher scores on six out of nine subtests with one difference being significant. At the end of preschool, Wave 1 had higher scores on seven subtests with two differences attaining significance. Both Waves 0 and 1 had significantly higher scores on Auditory Vocal Association, a

subtest which is highly verbal and conceptual. In contrast, the Wave 0 controls had a significantly higher score on Auditory Vocal Sequencing (a digit-span test on a non-conceptual level). This conceptual superiority of the experimentals was considered a highly significant outcome for the program.

The following additional results may apply only to the Wave 0 children who were tested through second grade.

5. Gates Reading Readiness Test: On reading readiness at the end of kindergarten, the Wave 0 experimentals had higher scores than their controls on all subtests. There were significant differences on two subtests: Picture Directions and Word-Card Matching.
6. California Achievement Tests: California Achievement Tests covering Reading, Arithmetic and Language Skills were administered to Wave 0 subjects at the end of first and second grades. The mean percentile ranks of the experimentals were significantly higher ($p < .05$) on all three subsections in grade 1 and in Reading and Arithmetic in grade 2. Mean percentile ranks on the total test were significantly higher for Wave 0 in both years (a rank of 22 compared to a rank of 5 in grade 1 and a rank of 18 over a rank of 3 in grade 2).
7. Pupil Behavior Inventory: Teacher ratings on a 34 item inventory were obtained for the Wave 0 children in kindergarten and grades 1 and 2. Mean scores on five factors--Classroom Conduct, Academic Motivation, Socio-Emotional

State, Teacher Dependence and Personal Behavior were higher for the experimentals in all but two instances. Controls in kindergarten and grade 1 scored higher on teacher dependence.

8. Ypsilanti Rating Scale: A teacher rating scale covering academic potential, social development, verbal skills and emotional adjustment was developed for the project and used for Wave 0 subjects in kindergarten, grade 1 and grade 2. The scores of the experimentals were consistently higher on each year with significant differences occurring $(p < .01)$ on all factors but academic potential in grade 2.

The Perry Preschool Project made substantial differences in the learning capacity of its participants but the I.Q. gains tended to disappear over time. The relatively successful performance of children with one year of preschool on readiness and achievement tests led the evaluatiors to conclude that, while preschool experiences did not make a sustained difference in the measured intellectual level of disadvantaged children, they appeared to provide a basis for improved academic performance. However, in a further analysis of the test scores of the Wave 0 experiments they noted the existence of two subgroups: five achievers whose mean percentile rating for achievement was at the 37th percentile and five nonachievers whose mean was the second percentile. The I.Q. scores of the achievers had been maintained and improved after their initial upward spurt while those of the non-achievers returned to their pre-treatment level. Recognizing the limitations of such small numbers, the evaluators suggested that the structured preschool program might be effective for some children while another approach would be needed for others (Weikart _et al._, 1964, Weikart, 1967).

Baltimore Early School Admissions Project-- Another preschool pro-program initiated in 1962 was the Baltimore Early School Admissions Project. This was another effort to discover whether early school experiences could overcome barriers to school learning believed to be attributable to environmental factors. The program which started with two groups of 30 four-and five-year olds, in two early admission centers, included enrichment activities and parental involvement and made use of both regular staff and volunteers. A preliminary evaluation made in 1963 after the first five months of program operation showed that the 28 children remaining in one center made 20-point gains on the Columbia Mental Maturity Scale while those in the other center (also 28) made gains of 17 points. Gains on a Verbal Maturity Scale developed in Baltimore were 15 points for the first group of children and nine points for the second. The pre-post mean score differences were all significant at the .001 level. No comparisons were made with control groups (Wilkerson, 1965). The Baltimore Early Admissions Project was extended beyond an initially planned three-year period and is now functioning with more classes serving several hundred pupils under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The Bereiter -Engelmann Program--A fourth preschool program which has been the focus of much controversy is that developed by Carl Bereiter and Sigfried Engelmann at the University of Illinois (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966). The program is based on an analysis of the cognitive behaviors a child should attain by entry into first grade if he is to succeed in school. The investigators assert that if the disadvantaged child is to make up for deficiencies he must progress at a faster than normal rate in a specially-devised, highly structured program directed toward specific objectives. In its initial format the Bereiter-Engelmann program consisted of three daily classes of 15 to 20 minutes each in basic language skills, reading and arithmetic, with each small class taught by its own special teacher. The only other major educational activity was singing which, through specially written songs, gave additional practice in the class skills.

The participants in the first implementation of the program were 15 Negro children in a school district with an extremely low income level, who were selected on the basis of school difficulties exhibited by older siblings and the judgement that their homes were educationally unfavorable. Their median age was four years, six months at the beginning of the program and their scores on two subtests of the ITPA were at about the three-year level. The ITPA and the Stanford-Binet were given in the course of the nine-month program and the Wide-Range Achievement Test was administered at the end of the school year.

Some limited reporting of the results of the program are available as follows (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966):

1. Stanford-Binet: The Stanford-Binet was first administered two months after the start of the program to avoid "the irrelevant six-to-eight point gain that is expected merely from the children's becoming adjusted to schooling." The mean I.Q. was then about 93. On a retest after seven months of school the mean I.Q. was slightly above 100 (Bereiter

and Engelmann, 1966, p. 54).

2. ITPA: On a full-test administration of the ITPA at the end of 6 weeks in the program, the children showed six month gains in the verbal reasoning and grammar subtests previously given (Auditory-Vocal Automatic and Auditory-Vocal Association). Their ability to use descriptive language (Vocal Encoding) was then about one year below level. Ten weeks later, they had gained about a year on Vocal Encoding and an additional three or four months on verbal reasoning and grammatical usage. At the end of seven months of schooling subjects' scores on all verbal subtests except vocabulary were approximately normal and their scores on Verbal Encoding were six months above average.

3. Wide-Range Achievement Test: After nine months of the program, 11 of the 15 children scored at or above beginning first-grade level on the reading section of the Wide Range Achievement Test: 11 scored at or above beginning second-grade level on arithmetic, while only one scored below first-grade level.

Additional achievements not covered by the standardized tests, included the solution of equations with unknowns, solution of complex deduction problems and reading of stories with phonically regular vocabularies. It was noted that many of these successful activities were performed at a higher level than would be expected from measured I.Q.'s.

Visitors reacted to the children as if they were gifted youngsters rather than disadvantaged. It was the opinion of the evaluators that the children's performance on the type of tasks they had been taught was a better criterion of success than gains on general measures of learning capacity.

No statistical analyses of test scores were reported and there were no comparisons with a control group. Furthermore, no follow-up data were reported for this experimental group (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966).

New York State Study of Prekindergarten Programs for the Disadvantaged--A four-year study of prekindergarten programs for the disadvantaged in New York State attempted to assess the effectiveness of different types of preschool programs (Di Lorenzo, Brady and Salter, 1968). Eight school districts developed their own half-day programs to improve capacity to learn, language development, self concept, motor development and attitudes toward school. The programs incorporated many elements of a traditional nursery program, but there was variation among the programs in their use of structured activities for cognitive objectives. Two districts included nondisadvantaged children in their classes as part of their program treatments. Subjects, aged three and one-half to four and one-half years in age were identified as disadvantaged on the basis of father's occupation or receipt of welfare. Children in each district were matched on the basis of sex, race, IQ and socioeconomic status and randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. There were three successive waves of subjects or a total of over 1,800 children. Wave I was followed into second grade, Wave II into first grade and Wave III into kindergarten. The evaluative instruments used were the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, the PPVT, the ITPA and the Metropolitan Readiness and Achievement Tests. Data for each year of program operation were analyzed by treatment, socioeconomic status, district, race and sex. On pretest-post test measures (the Stanford-Binet and the PPVT), changes in mean scores were compared.

The disadvantaged experimentals were significantly different from their controls on the Stanford-Binet, the PPVT and the ITPA in each of the three years. Six of these differences were significant at the .05 level, three at the .10 level. The significant differences in IQ were due in part to lower scores for the controls. There were only two significant differences between the nondisadvantaged experimentals and their controls over the three years and both were at the .10 level; one favored the experimentals, the other the controls.

In general, the programs were effective for both boys and girls. They were also effective for both white and nonwhite disadvantaged children but were more effective for the whites. The gain scores of white children on the Stanford-Binet, for example, were greater than those of the nonwhites in each of the three years.

Examination of the results by district showed that not all of the programs were effective. Four of the districts accounted for 21 out of 26 significant differences between disadvantaged experimentals and controls in the course of three years (total number of possible significant differences was 75). Three of the programs that produced significant differences were described as "structured" and "cognitively oriented". One offered specific instruction in reading readiness and beginning reading; another made use of Bereiter-Engelmann pattern drills and planned discussion groups for language development.

Follow-up testing at the end of kindergarten for the first two waves of children showed that the disadvantated experimentals as a total group had significantly higher scores on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests. There were no significant differences between the nondisadvantaged experimentals and controls. Covariance analyses were used in these analyses with Stanford-Binet and PPVT pretest scores as covariates. Analysis of these results by district disclosed that there were three districts in which the disadvantaged experimentals were significantly different from their controls on reading readiness, two with Wave I children and one with Wave II subjects. In two of these districts, there had been no signficant differences between experimentals and controls at the end of prekindergarten, suggesting the possibility of a latent effect for the preschool experience. Analyses of readiness test results by sex showed that disadvantaged experimental girls did better than both the control girls and the experimental boys.

Wave I subjects were followed into first grade in only the one district where there were significant differences between the experimentals and controls at the end of prekindergarten. On the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (Primary I Battery), there was no significant difference between the two groups. The experimentals had been superior to the controls on reading readiness at the end of kindergarten.

Summary

The large, comprehensive evaluations of broad-scale early intervention programs have generally shown minimal, if any, improvements for disadvantaged children. These studies are handicapped methodologically by their lack of pre-post measures and longitudinal data. It is doubtful, however, that any tightening of the research design would alter the outcomes.

Small-scale studies of specific programs and techniques, on the other hand, have frequently shown some meaningful changes in learning capacity and language development. Although the gains made through preschool have sometimes disappeared in the early grades, the overall results suggest a number of ways to affect the achievement levels of disadvantaged children. Unfortunately, these innovational procedures have not been fully explored or widely applied.

Compensatory Programs at the Elementary and Secondary Levels

Compensatory education programs are by no means completely new innovations, but have been evolving over a number of years. In this brief review of compensatory programs at the elementary and secondary level, attention is first given to some of the forerunners of current efforts, followed by a review of two programs outside regular school auspices, and then a review of programs supported under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Forerunners of Current Compensatory Programs

Many of the first compensatory programs for the disadvantaged were developed in the great cities of the Nation where the problems of low achievement, the school drop-out and unemployment among youth were most extensive. Among such programs were the Demonstration Guidance and Higher Horizons projects in New York City, the All-Day Neighborhood School, also in New York City, and the Banneker Project in St. Louis, Missouri.

Demonstration Guidance Project--Faced with de facto segregation, the Commission on Integration of the New York City Board of Education "...sought ways of reversing the process of apparent deterioration in ability and achievement among minority group school children and the subsequent limitation of educational opportunity (Hillson and Meyers, 1963, p. v)." The Demonstration Guidance Project was a direct outcome of the Commission's work. It was a pilot project designed to identify and stimulate culturally deprived children to pursue higher educational and vocational goals.

The project started in September 1956 with 717 pupils in the seventh, eighth and ninth grades in a depressed-area junior high school. The evaluation continued until June 1962 when students in all three classes had graduated from the predominantly middle-class George Washington High School. The final project population, after moving and transfers, was 329. The majority of the project participants were Negroes and Puerto Ricans from disadvantaged backgrounds. Latent academic aptitude was a criterion for selection, and although the participants represented the upper half of the student body in their junior high school, most ranked low in both I.Q. and scholastic achievement.

The project provided a saturation program of compensatory education on the junior and senior high school levels. It included curriculum modifications, reduced-size classes, remedial instruction, cultural enrichment activities, counseling and clinical services and contact with the parents (Wilkerson, 1965).

The counseling and clinical services appeared to be among the most highly emphasized aspects of the treatment. Individual counseling was devoted to personal and emotional problems, as well as academic achievement, reasons for failure, need for tutoring, interpretation of test results, selection of school subjects and post-high school plans. The counselors furnished the teachers with detailed information about the background and personal needs of the students, enabling them to better understand the attitudes and reactions of the students and to adapt instruction to meet individual needs. In providing clinical treatment for pupils with more severe problems, the clinicians aided them with practical problems such as finding part-time jobs, monetary help, better sleeping arrangements and places to study and improving their relationships with their parents (Hillson and Myers, 1963).

The results of the Demonstration Guidance Project include a number of individual case studies and an enumeration of the school accomplishments of the participants. The attainments of the project pupils are compared with those of pre-project students from the same junior high school who were in the classes of 1957, 1958 and 1959 at George Washington High School.

Specific outcomes of the project were:

1. Of the final 329 project participants, 108 received academic diplomas, 147 graduated with a general diploma (an indicator of holding power rather than academic achievement) and 3 earned commercial diplomas. Seventy-one dropped out of school.
2. The dropout rate for project students was 22 percent. This was below the average rate of the school and one-third lower than the rate for the rest of the city.
3. The number of academic graduates was two and a half times as great as that for the three pre-project classes: 108 compared to 43.
4. Of the 108 academic graduates in the project:
    a. Forty-four finished high school with no failure compared to 14 pre-project students.
    b. Thirty-seven had grade averages of 80 percent or more compared to 11 in the pre-project groups.
    c. Ninety-six (89 percent) went on to further education.

    d. Thirty-eight had previously been reported to have I.Q.'s below 100, and 16 had I.Q.'s of 90 or below.
    e. Thirty-six were retarded one year or more in arithmetic at the beginning of high school.
    f. Thirteen were retarded one year or more in reading at the beginning of high school.

5. In graduating classes of 800 to 900, project students ranked first, fourth and sixth in 1960; fourth in 1961; and second, fourth and ninth in 1962. The highest ranking students in the pre-project classes placed 51st (1957), 65th (1968) and 226th (1959).
6. A total of 168 project participants went on to higher institutions compared to 47 of the pre-project students (three and one-half times as many). Ninety-six were academic graduates and 72 had received general diplomas.

Further evidence of the success of the project was found in staff reports of improved pupil conduct and attitudes and in the positive reactions of both students and teachers to the project. The report also noted that not all results were satisfying. For example, among the academic graduates were 19 pupils with I.Q.'s of 110 and above who were not able to achieve 80 percent averages, and there were other pupils of adequate I.Q.'s who did not attain the academic diploma of which they were capable (Hillson and Myers, 1963).

The report on the Demonstration Guidance Project suggests a high degree of success. However, the generally positive evaluation rests on the counting up of individual accomplishments rather than any systematic study of the effects of the program on all of its participants. The comparison of project and pre-project students is open to question because there is no indication of the initial comparability of the two groups except on previous attendance at the same junior high school. Even the size of the pre-project group is not specified so that the comparisons of absolute numbers, as with the numbers of academic graduates, has limited meaning. In spite of the limitations in the evaluation, the Demonstration Guidance Project offered some tentative indication that the school performance of disadvantaged children could be improved.

Higher Horizons--The Higher Horizons Program was conceived as an extension of the Demonstration Guidance Project. Begun in September 1959 with 12,000 children and expanded to include 64,000 at its conclusion in 1962, the program sought to serve children of all ability levels. The major purpose of Higher Horizons was "to develop techniques for the identification, motivation, enrichment and education of culturally disadvantaged children, and to perfect means for stimulating them and their families to pursue higher educational and vocational goals (Wrightstone et al., 1964, p. i)." The underlying premise of the program was that "improvement in a child can best be effected by direct influence upon the child, the teacher and the parent (Wrightstone et al., 1964, p. 3)." To this end, the program focused on intensive individual and group counseling, cultural and occupational experiences, remedial services and parent education. The counseling and guidance services were intended to raise students' aspirations and to provide greater opportunity for employment and further education. The teachers were encouraged to improve their expectations of the students and their own ability to teach disadvantaged children.

Several hundred specialized personnel were added to the staffs of the project schools. The extra teachers were used as curriculum assistants, teacher training specialists or subject matter specialists (particularly in reading). Each teacher was expected to spend a good part of his time on parent and community education, cultural activities and inservice training, as well as on curriculum improvement and remedial work.

Wrightstone _et al_. (1964) of the New York City Bureau of Educational Research conducted an extensive evaluation of the Higher Horizons Program for the Board of Education through a grant provided by the United States Office of Education. On the elementary level, eight Higher Horizons schools were selected as representative of the 31 schools in the program on the basis of their third grade Otis Alpha I.Q. scores, reading comprehension scores, ethnic composition, geographic location and size of school population. These eight were matched with eight control schools on a one-to-one basis. The Higher Horizons experimental schools tended to have smaller classes, lower teacher and pupil transiency, a greater percentage of regular teachers and more professionals per pupil than the control schools. At the junior high school level, 10 of the 13 experimental schools were matched with 10 control schools on size, ethnic composition and I.Q. The experimental and control students in both elementary and junior high schools were administered an extensive array of standardized tests, rating scales, inventories and questionnaires.

Before presenting the results of Higher Horizons, it should be noted that while Higher Horizons was intended to duplicate the apparently successful Demonstration Guidance Project, it never did actually replicate that program. One major difference between the two programs was that the Demonstration Guidance Project specifically worked with students who were identified as having academic potential while Higher Horizons was open to students of all ability levels. In addition to this, although per pupil expenditures and the number of personnel provided were higher for students in Higher Horizon schools, when compared to students in regular schools, they were still substantially lower than they had been in the Demonstration Guidance Schools. Finally, the Demonstration Guidance Project concentrated on secondary students while Higher Horizons was implemented at both the elementary and secondary level.

The results of the evaluation were as follows (paraphrased from Wrightstone _et al_., 1964):

1. _Scholastic Aptitude and Achievement_:
    a. After the elapsed treatment period, no significant differences were found between the I.Q. scores of experimental and control students at either the elementary or secondary levels.
    b. For the junior high pupils--the experimental group did not achieve higher reading scores than the non-Higher Horizons controls over a two-year period. A similar finding was reported for the mathematics achievement scores.
    c. For elementary schools students--the reading gains made by the Higher Horizon pupils between third and sixth grades were not significantly different from those made by the control pupils. In arithmetic achievement Higher Horizon pupils scored significantly higher than their controls on computation and problem solving.
2. _Personal and Social Development_: There were no significant differences between Higher Horizons and non-Higher Horizon

students on social, school and personal attitudes, self image or educational and vocational aspirations (ninth grade). There was some improvement in behavior, as measured by teacher judgement. Attendance improved at all levels. Higher Horizons tended to reduce the truancy rate, but there was no consistent pattern in the suspension rate.

3. Professional Staff Reactions: Concerning the effectiveness of the program, evaluations were positive by the teachers and especially by the principals. They felt the program most successful in the provision of cultural opportunities and extra remedial guidance services.

The success of the Higher Horizon Programs is found solely in the positive attitudes of participating teachers and principals. Except for improved attendance, some alteration in classroom behavior and gains in arithmetic achievement at the elementary level, this compensatory education program failed to demonstrate fulfillment of its objectives. The educational and vocational goals of the pupils were not altered, achievement was not stimulated, and attitudes and self-image remained poor.

All Day Neighborhood School Program--The All Day Neighborhood School Program was organized in New York City as an attempt to counteract the deleterious effects of a ghetto neighborhood environment. Fifteen elementary schools were selected in economically impoverished areas: seven majority Negro schools, four majority Puerto Rican schools and four majority Negro and Puerto Rican schools. Each school was assigned seven teachers with special training in child development and home and school relationships. They assisted the regular teachers during the school day and conducted an after-school program which included activities related to school work. The program cost an average of $70,000 per school, which was about $60 per student in excess of normal costs (RIPS, 1967).

In 1965, the program was evaluated by independent researchers from New York University who compared the All Day Neighborhood participants to control students in similar schools without compensatory education programs. The reading level, I.Q. and academic achievement of the experimental group were not measureably improved. A follow-up of these students in junior high school revealed no significant differences between the All Day Neighborhood School participants and the control groups (RIPS, 1967).

Banneker Project--The Banneker Project began in St. Louis, Missouri, in September 1957 and by June of 1966 involved 23 majority Negro elementary schools which enrolled more than 14,000 students. The project goal was to improve academic achievement by raising the expectations of teachers, the motivation of students and the aspirations of parents. In 1967, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights undertook an evaluation to determine the measureable results of the program upon the academic performance of Negro students.

The evaluation procedure involved comparing the standardized test scores of project schools with: (1) national testing norms; and (2) the test scores of majority Negro schools not in the project and the test scores of majority white schools in St. Louis.

In the comparison of the Banneker schools with national norms, eighth grade reading scores in 1957-58 were one year below the national norm. In 1960-61, the scores were only a half year below norm. However, by the school year 1965-66, when some of the eighth grade students had been in the program for seven years, the eighth grade reading scores in the majority of the Banneker schools had dropped to one year or more below the national norm. Furthermore, between the years 1962-63 and 1965-66, the standing of most Banneker schools in relation to other majority Negro and majority white schools in the city did not improve.

Efforts to improve achievement by means of altering expectations, aspirations and motivation of teachers, pupils and parents were unsuccessful in the Banneker Project. The initial achievement goals of the Project schools was not sustained relative either to national norms or other schools within the system (RIPS, 1967).

Other Compensatory Programs

Some compensatory programs have functioned outside the bounds of the regular elementary and secondary school. Two of these which have achieved notable results are Upward Bound, a program sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Case II: MODEL, a special project of the Institute for Behavioral Research.

Upward Bound--Upward Bound is a national college preparatory program designed "...to generate the skills and motivation necessary for college success among [tenth to twelfth grade students] from low income backgrounds and inadequate secondary school preparation (Office of Economic Opportunity, 1965, p. 1)." In the summer of 1965, pilot programs were conducted on eighteen college campuses. The number of programs was expanded to 220 colleges, universities and residential secondary schools in 1966. These programs served 20,000 students.

The program treatment involves two phases: (1) A six-to eight-week residential summer session planned to remedy poor academic preparation and to increase the students' chances for admission to and success in college, and (2) a follow-up program conducted during the regular academic year to sustain gains made over the summer. The academic content of both phases is not intended to parallel the regular secondary school work. Both phases include cultural enrichment experiences.

Data from six of the original programs indicate that 80 percent of the Upward Bound students went on to post-secondary education. Seventy-eight percent entered college, compared to the usual eight percent. Data on college retention show that Upward Bound participants had the same dropout rate as all other college youths (Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968).

Case II: MODEL--Under the aegis of the Institute for Behavioral Research, 28 young men at the National Training School for Boys were included in a one year program to improve their academic behavior and prepare them to return to school. The boys ranged from 14 to 18 years of age, with an average I.Q. of 93.8. "Eighty-five percent were school dropouts, and only three had never been sentenced and institutionalized before (Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968, p. 275)."

The program was based upon a structured learning environment utilizing reinforcement to maintain students' interest and program them for success. This was to be attained by: (1) structuring each curriculum unit at the level where the individual could perform successfully step by step; and (2) providing direct pay-off for achievement. The extrinsic immediate reinforcement used was money, which the student earned when he performed on tests at 90 percent or better. The student's earnings paid for his room, food, clothing, gifts and fees for special classes. The student without sufficient funds went on relief--sleeping on an open bunk and eating from a metal tray. No student was on relief for more than two weeks (Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968).

The intermediate findings of Case II are impressive. The average increase in I.Q. was 12.09 points. "For every 90 hours of academic work, there was an average increase of 1.89 grade levels on the Stanford Achievement Test and 2.7 grade levels on the Gates Reading Survey (Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968, p. 276)."

Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provides the largest single source of funds for compensatory education. It has reached some 10 million youngsters at the cost of approximately $4 billion, of which roughly $340 million were allocated to New York State (NYSED, August 1968). The Title I program has been directed at schools in concentrated areas of deprivation. The legislation gives the states and school systems wide freedom in developing their own programs. Reports on these programs are available for 1965 and 1966. In general, the reports are not encouraging. Gordon and Jablonsky (1968) summarize their evaluation of the program as follows:

1. Money was so rapidly allocated that the quality of program planning and development was severely limited.
2. Many programs were operative for too brief a period of time to be evaluated effectively.
3. Many programs received insufficient funds to operate adequately.
4. Difficulty was experienced in locating appropriate specialized personnel.
5. Most programs could not report appreciable improvement in academic achievement for the target populations.
6. Generally the programs increased the quantity of services offered but not the content or the quality.

Economic deprivation is the major qualification for Title I participation. Deprived children are defined as those children between the ages of five and 17 from families whose incomes are less than $2,000 according to the 1960 U. S. Census, or from families whose incomes were more than $2,000 but who received Aid for Dependent Children under Title IV of the Social Security Act. Of the 48.5 million children enrolled in elementary and secondary schools, 12.4 percent fall into this category. Of these, 6.7 percent reside in New York State, and 71.5 percent of these deprived children are enrolled in the six largest cities of the State.

A report on the first two years of experience with Title I in New York State (NYSED, August 1968) depicts general overall gains in achievement for the programs funded under Title I and concludes that Title I _is_ effective. The nature of the study and the format of the data, however, make any firm conclusions respecting these programs difficult. In some cases, the programs selected disadvantaged children with low achievement, but high ability. The study offered no comparison data or means of determining the significance of any gains made. Without the inclusion of control groups in these programs there was no way of ascertaining whether an eight-month gain in seven months was the result of specialized treatment or might have occurred with no treatment at all. It can only be concluded from the data presented in the New York State study that Title I programs have failed to demonstrate a general rise in achievement in grade level.

On the national level, among programs reporting positive findings, the tendency was toward improved morale, higher teacher expectations, improved self-perceived climates for learning, improved attendance and reduced school dropout rates. The overall national development of compensatory education under Title I programs, however, has not yet resulted in any measurable improvement in the academic achievement of children from disadvantaged backgrounds as compared to the achievement levels of their more advantaged peers (Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968). In all fairness, however, everything in Title I should not be lumped together and judged, since the Title I section of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has fostered a variety of programs which need to be examined on an individual basis to determine which efforts were successful and which were not. New York State, in its evaluation, cited a number of programs which it examined on an individual basis. Among them was a program which was instituted by the City School District of Tonawanda. The District conducted a comprehensive reading program in five reading centers for 305 students ranging in age from 6 to 18 years. The program was designed to upgrade the reading ability of children not reading at a level commensurate with their I.Q.'s. At the conclusion of the 10-month program, gains in ability ranged from one and one-half to three years. During the year, 10 percent of the children returned to regular classes and were reported to be achieving at a satisfactory level.

The latest annual report of The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Title I - ESEA: A Review and A Forward Look-1969; Fourth Annual Report, follows the procedure of examining individual projects. Under contract to the National Advisory Council and the USOE the American Institutes of Research reviewed 1,000 of the more than 20,000 individual Title I compensatory programs and collected detailed data on 400 of them. The following criteria were used in screening the projects (National Advisory Council: Fourth Annual Report, 1969, p. 20).

1. Only compensatory programs whose directors had measured achievement through standardized tests were included in the AIR report. Ratings, classroom grades,

and even special tests prepared by teachers were considered too unreliable and subject to bias by program personnel to provide an accurate index to achievement gains.

2. An improvement in achievement scores was not considered sufficient by itself to identify a "successful program". The achieved gain had to exceed that made by a control group over a comparable period of time, or that to be expected on the basis of normative data, and had to be statistically significant.

3. The terms "successful" and "unsuccessful" have a highly restricted meaning as used in this report; they denote only programs which produced pupil gains in language or number skills. If, for example, a program succeeded in improving pupil attitudes but failed in the formal, "cognitive" or academic area during the period observed it was considered unsuccessful.

4. Language skills meant achievement in such areas as reading, speaking fluency and word recognition; "number skills" usually implied arithmetic and, in some cases, mathematics.

Of the 400 projects qualifying for more intensive review, 21 projects were designated as successful. These 21 projects were also matched with one or more unsuccessful projects which were similar in terms of objectives and age of pupils in order to determine what makes one project successful and another unsuccessful. On the basis of the comparisons which were made, the following criteria seemed to distinguish successful programs from nonsuccessful programs (National Advisory Council: Fourth Annual Report, 1969, pp. 23-24).

For pre-school programs.

1. Careful planning, including statements of objectives
2. Teacher training in the methods of the programs
3. Small groups and a high degree of individualization
4. Instruction and materials closely relevant to the objectives

For elementary school compensatory programs.

1. Academic objectives clearly stated
2. Active parental involvement, particularly as motivators
3. Individual attention for pupils' learning problems
4. High intensity of treatment

For secondary school compensatory programs.

1. Academic objectives clearly stated
2. Individualization of instruction
3. Directly relevant instruction

It would seem, therefore, that Title I and the whole compensatory concept is a viable one provided that the individual programs which are developed follow the criteria previously discussed. As the Advisory Council points out, these criteria are basic to good program construction no matter what program is involved. It could therefore be expected that successful use of Title I funds is within the realm of possibility for all districts that are presently receiving these funds.

Compensatory Programs and Integration: A Comparison

Of special interest and pertinence to the improvement of educational opportunities for disadvantaged children are several studies that have examined the relative effectiveness of: (1) compensatory programs in racially or socially segregated schools, and (2) programs of racial or social integration without compensatory educational services. All of the studies located indicate that racial and social integration of the schools alone is at least as effective, or more so, than compensatory programs alone, in improving the educational achievement of disadvantaged students. The environment of the racially or socially isolated school with an overwhelming majority of deprived students evidently defeats the purpose of presently existing compensatory programs.

Since 1962, the school system of Berkeley, California, has provided an extensive program of compensatory education for disadvantaged children in the de facto segregated schools of the city (Sullivan, 1968). This program has included reduced class size, an expanded staff of educational specialists, improved teaching materials, individual tutoring, parental and community involvement, after school study halls, preschool programs, flexible grouping, improved teaching techniques and special training for the teaching staff. By 1965, these programs had produced no noticeable effect on the achievement levels of disadvantaged fifth grade children who had received the compensatory services for four years, as compared to the achievement levels of fifth grade students in the same schools before the compensatory services had been introduced (RIPS, 1967).

As reported previously in Chapter V, Berkeley's public schools have also initiated a program of racial integration involving the bussing of children from predominantly Negro elementary schools to predominantly white schools and to socially and racially mixed schools but having no compensatory services (Sullivan, 1968). In the spring of 1967, student scores in grades 1 through 6 on the Paragraph Meaning section of the Stanford Achievement Test for all schools in the city were compared by type of school program and school racial composition. Of special interest are the comparisons of the scores of the following three groups of students: (1) Negro students remaining in segregated, predominantly Negro schools but receiving compensatory educational services; (2) Negro students transferred to underused, predominantly white schools and receiving no compensatory services; and (3) Negro students transferred to or attending racially mixed schools and receiving no compensatory services. Table 40 presents the results of these comparisons in terms of the percentages of students from each group receiving scores in the bottom, middle and upper third of the entire city elementary school population.

Table 40

Percentage of Students' Paragraph Meaning Subtest Scores (Stanford Achievement Test) Occurring in Each Third for Three Student Groups[1]

		Percentage of Scores in:		
Negro Student Groups	N	Bottom Third	Middle Third	Upper Third
Segregated, with Compensatory Programs	2028	66.2	29.2	4.5
Transported to White Schools, No Compensatory Programs	234	33.4	45.2	21.4
Attending Racially and Socially Mixed Schools, No Compensatory Programs	562	43.3	44.1	12.6

[1] Adapted from Sullivan (1968), p. 153.

As indicated by Table 40, an overall pattern of much higher reading achievement occurred among those Negro students who attended both the predominantly white and the racially mixed schools where no special provisions were made for compensatory education, as compared to the Negro students who remained in the segregated, predominantly Negro schools and received extensive compensatory services. These substantial results must be viewed with some caution, however, since the research report (Sullivan, 1968) does not clearly indicate whether or not the bussed children were initially academically equivalent to those who remained in the segregated schools.

The Seattle Public Schools adopted a limited bussing program during the 1965-66 school year in order to reduce the class size at two majority Negro schools as part of a new compensatory program in the two schools (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967). Two hundred forty-two children, most of whom were Negro, were transported to other schools in the city with larger class sizes and with no special compensatory programs. Seventeen first grade students in the transfer group were compared at the beginning and end of the school year with a control group of 25 first graders at the majority Negro schools on the basis of reading test scores. The transfer groups, which had received no compensatory education during the year, showed slightly higher gains in reading than did the control groups, who had received all the supposed benefits of an intensive compensatory educational program.

One of the earliest and most extensive programs of compensatory education for disadvantaged children was the Education Improvement Program of the Philadelphia Public Schools established in 1963 (RIPS, 1967). Initiated at the first grade level, the program was gradually expanded until in 1965 approximately 30,000 students in impoverished areas from first grade through high school were involved. An evaluation of the effectiveness of the compensatory program compared to traditional programs in other majority Negro schools and in majority white schools integrated by bussing was conducted by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (RIPS, 1967). The Commission's report states·

> To evaluate the effectiveness of this program, the Commission used existing test data and compared the achievement histories of three groups of Negro children: those in nearly all-Negro schools participating in the program; those in non-participating nearly all-Negro schools; and those bused to non-participating majority-white schools. The Negro children who were bussed to the majority-white schools were of the same social class level as those in EIP (Education Improvement Program)

> schools which were nearly all-Negro; the students in the nearly all-Negro non-participating schools were of a somewhat higher social class level (p. 133).

The reading achievement levels of these three groups were traced from the end of first grade. The median achievement level of the children in the participating majority Negro schools over the two-year period consistently fell further behind the children in the other two groups.

At the beginning of the evaluation, the children in the non-participating majority Negro schools, who were of a slightly higher social class than the other two groups, had a slightly higher reading achievement level than the children in the other two groups. By the end of the evaluation, the Negro students bussed to the non-participating white schools had raised their achievement level sufficiently to close this gap, but the students in the participating majority Negro schools had not.

In 1962, the public schools of Syracuse, New York, established programs of compensatory education in three predominantly Negro schools of the city, two elementary schools and one junior high school. These programs included small class size, special instructional materials, extra guidance counselors and remedial specialists (Jaquith, 1967). Approximately $100 more per pupil was expended by the school system in these three schools than in the other schools of the district (RIPS, 1967). The Commission compared the reading achievement scores at the third, fourth and fifth grade level of Negro students attending the two elementary schools participating in the compensatory programs with the scores of Negro students attending predominantly white schools of the city having no compensatory services. The median achievement levels of both groups at the beginning of the study were approximately equal, but by the fifth grade the median achievement level of the children receiving compensatory education was approximately one-fourth of a grade level behind those Negro children attending integrated schools and receiving no compensatory services.

In 1965, a limited program of integration through bussing was initiated at the first, second and third grade levels in the Syracuse city schools. Approximately 80 Negro students in these three grades were transported from the predominantly Negro elementary schools to a predominantly white school with a record of high achievement (Jaquith, 1967). An evaluation of the effects on reading achievement of this program of integration as opposed to the compensatory programs in the predominantly Negro schools was conducted with a small sample of students. The transported students, who received no compensatory services, achieved over the course of one year at a rate double that of the children in the predominantly Negro school providing compensatory education.

In the same city, at the junior high school level, 30 pupils from the predominantly Negro junior high school were transferred to a predominantly white school with a record of high achievement (Jaquith, 1967). Compared to their own achievement in previous years, which included compensatory education programs, these students made significant gains. Each of the students was individually interviewed concerning what he considered to be the reason for his improvement. The results of these interviews indicated that the peer models available to the student at the high achievement junior high were more important in stimulating academic achievement than compensatory education programs in the predominantly Negro school.

Another study was conducted by the Rochester Public Schools (Rock _et al._, 1968) to evaluate the relative educational effectiveness of several types and degrees of compensatory programs and racial integration. One aspect of this study was to determine how the achievement of Negro pupils attending a predominantly Negro school with small class size compared with the achievement of Negro pupils in racially integrated classes with larger class sizes in both an inner city school and in a suburban school. Very few of the numerous comparisons of achievement that were analyzed for these three groups showed significant differences. They generally indicated, however, that Negro pupils achieved at higher levels when in larger classes that are integrated than when in smaller classes which are almost completely Negro in enrollment.

Caution should be observed in evaluating the conclusions of studies comparing the relative effectiveness of compensatory education and integration for the educational development of Negro students. The appropriate conclusion seems to be that integration is consistently more effective in raising the achievement levels of Negroes than a variety of applications of compensatory education. This does not deny the validity of the notion of compensatory education, but rather questions the manner in which current compensatory education is being practiced. Furthermore, the assumed lack of "compensatory education" in the majority white schools where the Negroes experienced integration may not be valid. It is possible that the majority white schools could have compensated in a number of ways through qualitative aspects associated with teachers, facilities and curricula. Since school quality differences may be confounded with integration, part of the assumed effect of integration could have been due to such differences, as well as to other differences such as school class composition, differences in family background between integrated and non-integrated Negroes and possible "Hawthorne" effects.

Although the effects of integration have generally been more pronounced than those of compensatory education, the size of the changes in achievement produced though integration indicate that integration itself is not sufficiently potent to raise disadvantaged minority students to national norms. Research is needed to evaluate the relative effects of combinatory programs that will offer the advantages of integration plus the most efficacious techniques of compensatory education.

Compensatory Education and Integration: Summary and Conclusions

Compensatory education programs, conducted at all educational levels from pre-kindergarten through high school, have been pedagogical experiments aimed at overcoming or circumventing the environmental and experiential deficiencies of the disadvantaged child, particularly the urban Negro child. The specific format of the many programs was highly diversified, but they generally incorporated remedial instruction, cultural enrichment activities and efforts to overcome attitudes which are presumed to inhibit learning.

Project Head Start, the largest compensatory program undertaken was designed as a national program run either on an all-year or summer basis for preschool disadvantaged children to offer them appropriate preparation for primary school. A major evaluation of Head Start compared the achievement of Head Start participants to that of similar children who had not attended the program. Summer Head Start programs failed to show any effect on achievement; full-year programs were minimally effective in raising the achievement level of the participants.

Head Start was most effective in the Southeast in scattered programs in the central cities, and in programs with mainly Negro participants. Over-all achievement levels of Project Head Start participants did not approach national norms for the standardized tests of language development and scholastic achievement. Gains that were made tended to disappear after the children entered a traditional primary program.

Two other compensatory efforts directed at preschool disadvantaged children were conducted in Baltimore, Maryland and Ypsilanti, Michigan. In Baltimore, 60 three-to four-year olds received enriched educational experiences. The project students showed a substantial amount of growth during a five-month observation period. However, the significance of this growth is unknown, for no comparisons were made with a control group. The Perry Preschool Project of Ypsilanti also served three-and four-year olds. An evaluation following some of the children into second grade indicated that marked growth in IQ and language development were not sustained, but that the experimentals were superior to their controls on readiness and achievement in kindergarten, grade 1 and grade 2.

A review of the Bereiter-Engelmann program suggests a high level of effectiveness for this highly structured program, although deficiencies in data reporting suggest that any conclusions must remain tentative. The New York State study of pre-kindergarten programs also appears to indicate positive results for programs which emphasize "structure" and cognition.

The Demonstration Guidance Project, designed to stimulate deprived children to pursue post-high school education, involved 700 low-achieving but academically-able junior high school students. The program continued all the way through high school, and according to the report issued, highly gratifying results were obtained. On this basis, New York City initiated the Higher Horizons Project which was comprised of the basic elements found in the Demonstration Guidance Project and extended to some 64,000 students by the time of its conclusion in 1962. While the new program was basically the same, there was a smaller per pupil expenditure, and elementary school students were added along with less academically able students. Higher

Horizons did not result in superior academic performance on the part of project students except in the area of arithmetic achievement at the elementary school level. Another one of New York City's programs, The All Day Neighborhood School Program, was similar to Higher Horizons in that it also failed to reveal any significant differences between the participants and a control group. In this project, additional teachers were supplied to aid regular teachers during the day and to run special school-related programs after school. A similar large-scale program initiated in St. Louis, Missouri, known as the Banneker Project, also resulted in generally negative findings with a sample of some 14,000 elementary school students.

Upward Bound was among the more successful compensatory programs. Academically promising, disadvantaged high school students spent six to eight weeks on a college campus in a program designed to overcome academic deficiencies and generate the skills and motivation necessary for college success. Data on this program indicated that 78 percent of the participants entered college and their dropout rate was no greater than that of other college youths.

Project Case II: MODEL was another promising compensatory education program. The goal of the program was to improve the academic behavior of 28 training school boys, 85 percent of whom were school dropouts, and prepare them to return to school. Students participated in a structured learning experience that could be conducted on an individual basis, and they received a direct monetary pay-off for test performance of 90 percent or better. Standardized tests administered at the end of a year showed dramatic gains in both I.Q. and achievement.

The largest expenditure in compensatory education was allocated through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Available evidence suggests that Title I programs in general have had little positive impact on the level of educational retardation exhibited by minority students and other disadvantaged children. One national study of Title I screened some 1,000 projects, then selected 400 for intensive review, and finally selected 21 programs designated as successful in accordance with moderately ambitious criteria. This study attempted to serve the further useful function of tentatively identifying program components which differentiated successful and unsucessful Title I programs. The results of this effort are no more illuminating than any standard test on curriculum, but, nevertheless, constitute good advice to teachers in the disadvantaged school.

Based on the large-scale evaluations now available, it must be concluded that current large-scale applications of the concept of compensatory education have failed to show any real promise in reducing the intellectual and achievement deficits of disadvantaged children (cf. Jensen, 1969; Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968). In contrast, several studies, which compared disadvantaged Negroes in traditional compensatory education programs with Negro students transferred to majority white schools, showed integration to be superior. Despite the apparent superiority of the integration approach, it is evident, as in the Berkeley study, that disadvantaged Negroes still achieved at considerably lower levels than more advantaged whites. Continuation of compensatory education seems to be a logical necessity in the integrated setting or otherwise, since integration generally results in a facilitative manipulation along only a few educationally relevant dimensions.

One of the notable problems in the application of current concepts of compensatory education has been in the extent to which the programs impinge on the disadvantaged child's life. Typically, compensatory programs are supplementary to the regular school program, or may comprise a few short weeks of concentrated effort. Related to this deficiency is the period at which the program intervenes in the child's life. It should be recognized that the educational and intellectual deficiencies of the disadvantaged child have been accruing since infancy (in some cases before), and the programs of short duration are thus unlikely to have much of an effect. There is now some support for the notion that certain types of compensatory efforts, if begun very early (as early as 15 months) and if made continuous over a number of years, may substantially reduce predictable intellectual deficiencies. It may also prove desirable to continue certain types of compensatory efforts once the child has reached school age in order to allay the possible continuing influences of a deprived background.

A second general criticism of current approaches to compensatory education may be directed at the global nature of program objectives and the corresponding global nature of approaches. Concepts such as self esteem, language development and academic motivation are frequently little understood by program directors and teachers alike. The resultant lack of definition leads to a plethora of non-standardized and varied activities with varying degrees of relationship to the program objectives (assuming that even the objectives were clarified). Attention to modern behavioral concepts of program objectives, coupled with systematic instructional approaches derived from the objectives, would almost undoubtedly facilitate determination of effective programs which may be appropriate for wider application. Related to this need is the need for application of more systematic approaches to program evaluation, which incorporate time series observations of behaviors derived from program objectives.

A third general criticism of compensatory education approaches derives from a pervasive lack of recognition of the specific psychological, intellectual and learning deficits typically displayed by the disadvantaged child. Most compensatory approaches designed for general application have been no more radical than any educational program available to the advantaged student. The Coleman et al. report clearly indicates that improvements along traditional dimensions of school and teacher quality are likely to have minimal effects on disadvantaged Negroes and a somewhat greater effect on Puerto Ricans. The research review presented in Chapter III indicated some of the basic differences between social class and ethnic groups which might well be taken into account in selecting an appropriate instructional methodology. It has been demonstrated that lower-class children use language in a concrete fashion and are not likely to be able to deal initially with the abstract language manipulations that are more familiar to children of the middle class. Jensen (1966, 1967) has indicated potential differences in the ways in which middle- and lower-class children are not likely to respond to the same reinforcement techniques that are successful with middle-class children.

Project Case II: MODEL (described previously) made extensive use of techniques based upon principles which have been established from research on social status and achievement. The use of a structured learning environment based upon reinforcement through direct monetary payoff may be somewhat radical by middle-class standards, but it must be remembered that compensatory programs are for the disadvantaged student and should incorporate the techniques that are most effective with him.

Interracial acceptance is another factor which must be considered when developing an integrated compensatory program. The Negro student attending or transferring to an integrated school is likely to suffer from cognitive and psychological deficits. As the discussion on interracial acceptance in Chapter V indicated, the integrated setting appears to have the potential to help or harm both the white and the Negro student. Much depends upon whether or not the school makes a concentrated effort to establish a facilitating atmosphere. Both the teacher and the school administration should share in developing a positive social atmosphere.

This kind of atmosphere is characterized by actions which are designed to aid the disadvantaged student academically and socially. The academic aspect is in part handled by effective compensatory programs. In conjunction with this, an effective program would rely heavily on developing specific behaviors in teachers, such as the capacity to create a threat-free classroom atmosphere and apply instructional techniques especially geared to the cognitive and emotional characteristics of the disadvantaged.

As was indicated in an earlier part of this discussion, integration may facilitate the educational development of the Negro child. It seems reasonable to expect that the integrated educational setting combined with the kind of compensatory program described in broad outlines here, and suggested by some of the more successful studies, could be systematically manipulated to yield an even more potent effect upon academic achievement and interracial understanding.

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Whites, particularly those who have only recently attained a modest measure of affluence, have great difficulty in understanding the meaning behind the symptoms of Negro frustration as evidenced in the recent wave of racial riots (NACCD, 1968) and the more recent instances of active protest in the schools and in other areas of American life, (Kruger, 1969; Urban Crisis Monitor, 1969). It is generally believed that the economic, educational and social status of the Negro has been advancing steadily (Kruger, 1969), and that legal efforts in the cause of integration have had a substantial positive effect upon the extent of racial isolation in the schools. However, a recent analysis of the employment status of Negroes in the United States (Kruger, 1969) indicates that, at the present rate of improvement of income, parity with white incomes can be expected in 805 years. Turning to progress in school integration, Sullivan and Stewart's (1969) analysis of the impact of Federal and State laws and policy relating to school desegregation indicates only minor progress over the past 15 years. The results of the analyses in Chapter II of the present report show a substantial and continuing increase in racial isolation in the schools in New York State, and this is a pattern which exists in other industrialized states in the North, the border states and certain cities in the South (RIPS, 1967). One may go on to list scores of inequities relating to the economic, social and educational positions of Negroes and other minority group members, but the main point seems clear: Negroes are at the bottom of American society, educationally and economically--with essentially no improvement in their relative status since the 1940's. (West, 1960; Kruger, 1969).

The persistence, and in some respects, worsening of the gap between Negroes and whites has no doubt contributed greatly to social unrest in the United States. It is not generally our nature to continually endure frustration as the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) states:

> ...for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.
>
> This failure is one of the persistent sources of grievance and resentment within the Negro community. The hostility of Negro parents and students toward the school system is generating increasing conflict and causing disruption within many school districts (p. 25).

The Commission went on to describe the dangers to American society resulting from the failure to integrate the schools:

> We support integration as the priority education strategy; it is essential to the future of American society. In this last summer's disorders we have seen the consequences of racial isolation at all levels, and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensible that opportunities for interaction between the races be expanded (p. 25).

Since the Commission's report in 1968, there has been growing evidence of predicted racial cleavage occurring directly in the schools, as the credibility of the Nation's response to Negro demands has filtered down to the young. The Urban Crises Monitor (1969) reports some 2,000 disorders in the Nation's high schools between November and February (1968-69). Racial conflict was reported to be at the heart of the ugliest and most violent of the protests surveyed, and is apparently the major cause of disorders in high schools in the large cities.

The cost of racially and socially isolated schools also includes the enormous effect of violence and crime on the economy and on the lives of thousands of individuals every year. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969) concluded that the United States clearly leads other stable nations in the number of homicides, rapes, robberies and assaults. The Commission further noted that the roots of violence and crime are in class status. Given the close correspondence between social class and race, one would then expect Negroes to contribute disproportionately to the extent of crime recorded in the United States. As noted in the Wilson (1967) study, the failure of the schools to provide quality education for all appears to be one of the major factors contributing to the high rate of delinquency among lower-status adolescents, whether Negro or white.

It is evident from the findings of this report that, the enormous waste of human resources resulting partially from racial isolation in the schools, can in part be reversed through quality education in the integrated school setting. The findings of this report focus attention on the disadvantaged Negro child, the equally disadvantaged Puerto Rican child, and other children--who generally experience frustration and failure in the school setting. However, it is not only these disadvantaged groups who will benefit from the educational and social changes which will result from the achievement of quality and equality in education. White and other advantaged children will thereby obtain a greatly expanded opportunity to experience the diversity in behavior and custom that has always been part of the American cultural scene. Sullivan and Stewart (1969), in reporting on the process of integration at Berkeley, described numerous instances of interracial interaction among children, parents and teachers which represent social experiences that cannot be gained first-hand in the isolated white middle class school. For example, some 500 adult volunteers are currently participating in the educational process in Berkeley. White parents, who formerly feared the effect of integration on their children's achievement, are now helping Negro children to read, write or do arithmetic.

The general failure to achieve real progress in the elimination of segregation in the schools, whether de jure or de facto, thus represents a loss to the enrichment of American culture, while at the same time it has increased the level of interracial distrust among both major racial groups. A reflection of this distrust is found in the Negro separatist movement which, among other things, calls for the establishment of quality education in a segregated school setting. Riessman (1966) has correctly analyzed this response as a capitulation to the negative response of whites to moves to initiate desegregation in the schools in various parts of the Nation. The call for separatism is further analyzable as a normal defensive response to the overwhelming frustration which Negroes must have experienced as a function of viewing the record: "If you are not going to help us (as it now must appear), then we will do it by ourselves."

It is, however, not at all evident that quality education can be initiated now or in the near future in a segregated school setting. The findings of the Coleman et al. and RIPS reports certainly would not support this notion. Rather, the general body of evidence relating to school integration indicates that improvement in the educational development of Negro students can be expected within a relatively short time following the placement of the child in an integrated school setting. There appears to be no other educational treatment which comes as close to the demand for improvement now as the proposal for a solution through effective integration.

The question remains as to how integration in the schools is to become a reality in view of the past record of progress. The present report was not initiated or designed to answer this question. The implications and recommendations, which remain to be discussed, deal primarily with research and practice in selected areas. A number of guidelines which should assist in enhancing the chances of success in initiating school integration programs are implicit in the findings of Chapters III through VI. These may now be enlarged upon and added to in the expectation that judgements based on research will be given careful consideration in decisions involving school integration. Three additional sources which may assist in the planning of school integration programs are: (1) the previously mentioned RIPS report; (2) a recently released book by Sullivan and Stewart (1969) in which the Berkeley integration experience is described in considerable detail; and (3) a volume edited by Robert L. Green entitled, Racial Crisis in American Education (1969).

Sullivan and Stewart's book should be of particular use to school administrators and members of boards of education, as well as community leaders involved in decisions to integrate the schools. The RIPS report is an excellent source for a variety of plans and proposals relevant to initiating desegregation of the schools, particularly in large urban centers. It is also an excellent source on the issue of Federal and State Laws relating to de jure and de facto segregation in the schools. The book edited by Green is a good source of recommendations concerning integration in relation to teaching alternatives, teacher characteristics, text books and curricula, racial attitudes, language development, and other meaningful topics. To this group may be added a number of recommendations offered by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1967) in an article which deals with the special educational and psychological needs of the newly integrated minority student, and a series of papers by Mark Chesler and others (Chesler, 1969; Chesler, 1966; Chesler and Barakat, 1967; Chesler and Fox, 1966, 1967) which are relevant to the current issue of interracial conflict in the schools. This last topic, dealt with only briefly in the present report, is a crucial consideration in the schools. Additional useful sources will be found in the references of this report.

The implications and recommendations discussed below fall into four main areas. The first section utilizes some limited data on the economic status of minority groups in New York State in order to determine the extent to which racial isolation also means *social class isolation* in the schools in different areas in the State. The implications of the correspondence between racial and social class isolation in the schools for policy and planning relating to school desegregation are also discussed. The next section deals with the influence of group processes on learning and social interaction in integrated and disadvantaged school settings. Recommendations are made for changing the content, structure and approaches to instruction and interaction in both settings. The third section presents a number of suggestions for improving research and program development in the disadvantaged school, and analyzes some of the major faults of previous efforts to upgrade the educational process in inner-city schools.

Social Class Implications of Racial Isolation in the Schools in New York State: Implications for Desegregation

The results of major studies reviewed in this report generally substantiate the fact that the typical racially isolated school is one which is also isolated on the basis of social class. Some brief considerations of data available on the economic status of nonwhites indicate that this generalization holds true for New York State, although there appear to be some exceptions in some isolated suburban communities with large Negro populations. The conjunction of racial and social class isolation in the schools appears to result from a number of factors, with the more important ones including: (1) disproportionate representation of ethnic minorities in lower-income occupations or in welfare status; (2) residential segregation and the corresponding widespread application of the neighborhood school policy; and (3) attendance of large numbers of generally middle- to upper-income whites in private schools, especially in the urban areas. This last factor tends to make available for public school attendance a white student population which is less well-off economically than the total white student population (RIPS, 1967).

Non-Public Schools in New York State

Data from the RIPS report show that nationwide, about one-sixth of the 1960 school enrollment was in private schools, with the proportion being even higher in the central cities. Furthermore, the nonpublic school enrollment is nearly all white (94 percent white in the cities; 97 percent white in the suburbs).[32] Analysis of the school enrollment figures for New York State for the 1968-69 school year shows that nonpublic school enrollment (elementary and secondary) constituted 20.4 percent or about one-fifth of total school enrollment (NYSED, 1969). In the seven largest city school districts of the state (1966-67) nonpublic enrollment generally constituted larger proportions, ranging from 21.0 percent in Niagara Falls to 50.1 percent in Albany (27.9 percent in New York City).[33] An ethnic breakdown of nonpublic enrollment figures for the State is not yet available for publication, but is assumed on the basis of the RIPS report that the enrollment situation in New York State is basically comparable.

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[32] Based on an analysis of 15 large metropolitan areas in 1960 (U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1967, p. 39).

Economic Status of Minority Pupils in New York State

Negroes and Puerto Ricans have traditionally been disporportionately represented among lower-economic status groups although in recent years the number and proportion of Negroes in middle-and upper-income groups has grown. For example, in 1966, 28 percent of Negro families in the Nation had incomes over $7,000 nearly double the proportion receiving comparable incomes in 1960. At the same time (1965), 55 percent of white families in the Nation received incomes over $7,000. Although these data show increases in the proportions of Negroes attaining middle income status, 32 percent of all Negro families still earned less than $3,000 in 1966 as compared to 13 percent of all white families.

Other data indicate that the economic status of Negroes and other minority groups is more aggravated in the urban areas of the Nation. In 1966, the proportion of nonwhites below the poverty level was about four times as great in the central cities as in the regions outside the central cities (42 percent versus 11 percent). New York City, with the largest number of minority pupils in the state public school system and the most extensive ethnic isolation, has a wide range of family incomes. A recent study of economic conditions in New York City (Gordon, 1969) estimated that 28.4 percent of Negro and Puerto Rican families and 3.7 percent of white families had incomes below the poverty level of $3,500 for a family of four. Another 31.1 percent of Negro and Puerto Rican families earned between $3,500 and $6,000, versus 13.6 percent of white families. At the other end of the scale, 4.2 percent of the Negro families could be considered affluent (income in excess of $14,500) versus 26 percent of the white families. Altogether 36.5 of the New York City population of whites, Negroes and Puerto Ricans were in "poverty" or "low income" families and 17 percent were in affluent families. Data on family size and income further indicate that low income families have greater numbers of children.

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[33] Based on data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

Figures on "poverty eligible" children used in determining district aid under Title I ESEA for 1968 showed over 257,000 New York City children aged 5 to 17, were receiving AFDC support, and another 10,000 were being supported in foster homes. These numbers were equivalent to nearly 24 percent of the New York City school enrollment. Assuming that the great majority of AFDC children attend public schools, it can be inferred that at least one fourth of the New York City public school pupils are AFDC recipients.

AFDC figures are a rough guide to community socioeconomic status, resulting only in an estimate of the number of children in the lowest economic groups, with no estimate of the proportions affected within different ethnic groups. There is, however, a certain degree of consistency between the proportional representation of the two largest minority groups, Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and the proportions of AFDC children in the larger districts of the state. For example in Buffalo in 1968, the equivalent of 20 percent of the school enrollment was receiving AFDC, in Rochester 15.6

percent; Syracuse 19.9 percent, Yonkers 11.5 percent, Albany and Utica 16.6 percent each, Mount Vernon 15.3 percent, Niagara Falls 12 percent and Newburgh 12.3 percent. The proportion of minority pupils in these districts ranged from 13.2 percent in Utica to 38.5 percent in Buffalo.

Outside of these city districts, there appears to be less correspondence between the proportion of minority pupils in the district and the proportion of children receiving AFDC. Wyandanch with 93.6 percent minority pupils had the equivalent of 37.6 percent of its enrollment receiving AFDC. Hempstead with 73.2 percent minority pupils had the equivalent of 19.1 percent receiving AFDC. Malverne and Amityville with 47.6 and 41.4 minority pupils had the equivalent of 6.7 and 8.8 percent of their pupils receiving AFDC. New Rochelle with 21.5 percent minority pupils, practically the same minority proportion as Syracuse, had only 5.1 percent receiving AFDC.

Altogether this attempt at translation of our racial isolation data into its socioeconomic implications suggest a number of tentative generalizations:

1. Racially isolated schools in New York State are likely to be predominantly lower-status schools.
2. The extent to which racially isolated schools contain predominantly lower-status children is likely to be greater in the larger cities of the State.
3. Schools with substantial numbers of white pupils in the larger cities may also tend toward a lower-status composition due to the tendency for upper-income whites to attend private schools and the greater proportions of minority pupils in lower-status families.

These generalizations must be viewed with caution since there is evidence of considerable variation in the economic status levels of isolated minority groups in different areas of the state. Socioeconomic diversity in communities where integration has been a concern was touched upon in Dodson's (1968) study in 10 New York State school districts. Nine of the districts for which socioeconomic data were available were among the 42 districts analyzed in this report. Without specifying the basis for his designations, Dodson noted that Albany had both white collar and low socioeconomic status Negroes, with the upper-status Negroes well-scattered residentially. Greenburgh's nonwhite population was described as running the gamut from middle-class to low socioeconomic status. Malverne's Negro population was attributed a higher proportion of professional and high status occupations than its white population. New Rochelle was described as having a wide range of nonwhite residents with many upper-middle and middle-class Negroes and a concentration of Negro professional. It was said that, in Roosevelt, the minority population had once been a low-status group, but white withdrawals from the community were being replaced by high status Negro residents. Schenectady's minority population, according to Dodson, consisted of professionals, and engineers and government employees scattered throughout the city and a concentration of lower-class Negroes who were more skilled occupationally than most.

The correspondence between racial and social class isolation in the schools of the state indicates that substantial numbers of children are deprived of one of the more important elements of quality education: the opportunity to interact socially and cognitively with children from upper-status backgrounds. The possible damaging effects of the maintenance of schools along class lines is probably underestimated by statistics on racial isolation in the schools since the prevalent practice of ability grouping also appears to represent the creation of unequal educational conditions for different children.

Implications for Desegregation

The results of major studies reviewed in Chapter IV showed that the social class composition of the school and classroom was a major factor in the generally lower achievement levels of students in segregated schools. It is, apparent, however, that this rather stable finding has not had any noticeable impact on the formulation of plans relating to school desegregation. Without major changes in the instructional process, certain types of desegregation programs could be expected to be educationally harmful to whites and harmful or non-facilitating to Negro and other minority students. Such might be the case in the following instances:

1. A largely middle-class (75 percent middle-class) predominantly white school (90 percent white) is paired with a predominantly Negro school (90 percent Negro) in which the students are largely from lower-income families (75 percent or more lower-status).[34]
2. A marginally middle-class (50-60 percent middle- and upper-income whites), predominantly white school (90 percent white) is paired with a mixed school (50 percent Negro) in which the Negro population is predominantly lower-status (75 percent) and the white population is marginally middle-class (50 percent).

In both situations described above, the exchange of students between schools would result in a social class composition which could, in effect, create educationally disadvantaged schools all around. Such could be the result in urban areas where the social status composition of "white" schools varies from area to area within the city, the Negro student population is generally lower-status, and policy dictates that integrated schools reflect the area distribution of Negroes and whites in the public schools.

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[34] Roughly equal numbers of students assumed in all schools in examples 1 and 2.

In areas such as New York City, where a predominantly lower-status Negro and Puerto Rican population constitutes more than 55 percent of public school enrollment, social class considerations in the implementation of plans for school desegregation might appear impractical. However, if private school facilities were made available, and if minority students in peripheral areas of the city could be transferred to suburban areas surrounding the city, it would appear that the great bulk of disadvantaged minority students in New York City could find themselves in educationally more desirable situations.[35]

These brief considerations relating to the achievement of optimal levels of social class balance in integrated schools are intended only as explanatory examples. Much more detailed information on family status and other student variables relating to school success is required before systematic plans can be formulated. For example, the results of the analyses of ethnic composition within school districts in Chapter II suggested that certain districts could achieve "successful integration" within district confines, whereas others such as New York City would require solutions involving schools outside the City. Some segregated suburban districts appeared to be more or less ideally placed to achieve integration by cooperation with surrounding districts, with a probable minor effect on the overall social class composition of all schools involved. However, a careful examination of the educationally relevant backgrounds of the white and minority student populations in individual schools may suggest plans for integration which differ considerably from those based on considerations of ethnic balance alone.

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[35] In 1968, New York City's nonpublic enrollment, elementary and secondary, amounted to 448,778 students. Assuming this enrollment to be predominately white, it constitutes a large student population which could be made available for integration.

These considerations suggest that district personnel and the educational leadership at higher levels develop a systematic information base for sound decision making relating to the elimination of the disadvantaged (segregated) school. Very briefly conceived, the procedure might have two major elements:

1. A "flagging" procedure based on the collection of relevant data on an annual basis, in which schools at the elementary and secondary levels would be identified as increasing in racial and social class isolation, with a concomitant decrease in overall achievement.
2. A procedure for systematic analysis of the educational and social characteristics of the "flagged" school and its regional educational, economic, ethnic and cultural context. Relevant information gathered might include:
    a. Information on individual student family background factors including economic status, nutritional and health status, academic achievement and ability levels and educa-

tionally relevant attitudes (within "flagged" schools).

b. Analysis of educational inequities resulting from such factors as staff turnover; inadequate materials, facilities and teaching procedures; lack of community participation; low morale and others (within "flagged" schools).

c. Identification of local economic and social resources which could be brought to bear on the problem.

d. Analysis and specification of the ethnic and economic composition of the schools in the region of the "flagged" school, which might serve as facilities for the transfer of disadvantaged students--including both public and private facilities.

A "flagged" school may represent one or a few schools in a suburban area, all disadvantaged schools in a section of the inner-city, or all schools in the central city. The procedure would initially focus on those schools which are already at the extremes of disadvantagement as well as those which appear to be rapidly approaching the extreme. In later stages, schools with lesser problems would become the focus of planning and action. This information gathering procedure might also be used as a basis for the formulation of comprehensive plans for integrating the schools on a regional or even state-wide basis.

It should be noted that this brief plan is not intended as a comprehensive formulation of the kinds of relevant information that might be gathered as a basis for systematic planning of desegregation in the schools. The main point is to underline the need for explicit recognition of social class considerations in formulating school integration programs. Current influential sources of guidelines for desegregation policy (e.g., the RIPS report) appear to have failed to recognize the importance of social class balance, and instead have focused on racial balance. The result has been ambiguous criteria for school desegregation which vary as a function of the overall racial balance in a particular district or group of districts being considered. Extensive data reviewed in this report indicate that desegregation plans based primarily on racial balance considerations could have undesirable consequences for the schools, depending upon the socio-economic composition of the schools in the area affected.

Official policy statements and guidelines relating to school desegregation may well require re-examination in light of the foregoing considerations. Examination of the many reports and policy statements reviewed in preparation for this study failed to turn up evidence of explicit recognition of findings which show the social class mix rather than the racial mix makes a difference in the achievement levels of Negro and Puerto Rican students. Further, the social class mix appeared to make a practical difference only when it occurred at the classroom level. These and other findings have a number of implications for the formulation of policy relating to school desegregation, as is shown even more clearly in later sections of this chapter. A further cause for re-examination of official policy, and of the adequacy of programs which represent the translation of policy into action, results from serious consideration of the evidence which shows that the extent of racial isolation in many Northern states (including New York) is increasing year by year, and will undoubtedly continue to increase for the next five to ten years.

The Influence of Group Processes in the Integrated and Disadvantaged Schools Settings: Implications and Recommendations

One of the eminent failures of research on variations in racial isolation in the schools is in the lack of any systematic examination of the effect of group processes on the amount learned in the classroom. There is also good reason to believe that the review of research on social interaction in the interracial school and classroom in Chapter V is now somewhat out of date, although many of these studies are but a few years old. The circular process in which Negro and other lower-status students are (by implication from research largely in white classrooms) affected by the negative reactions of white students and teachers, academic incapacities, and other factors, must now be placed within a context of increased interracial hostility in the schools. To be sure, fundamental patterns of social interaction in the typical American classroom may still generally apply in the interracial setting, but they may be overlaid and even circumvented by extraordinary levels of interracial hostility resulting from increasing racial cleavage now present in the secondary schools.

In the typical highly segregated school, interracial aggression will obviously be a minor or nonexistent problem. Due to the nature of the typical instructional process, it is here that the social class composition of the classroom is allowed to have its greatest effect on the learning process. The data presented in Chapters IV and V further indicate that the classroom social class composition has a negative effect on the outcome of instruction whenever middle- and upper-status students constitute less than a substantial majority. Due to problems in determining the correspondence between measures of social class, from study to study, no exact statements about educationally desirable proportions of students in different social class levels may be made. What is required in future studies on this question is a breakdown of the student population into several levels of social class, together with information on the educational context in the home and other student characteristics such as ability level (cf. Coleman et al., 1966). The influence of school social class composition on the outcomes of instruction may be further illuminated by direct observation of the process of classroom interaction.

Learning Via the Classroom Group

Given even the coarseness of the available data, it is yet possible to offer more than speculation into the whys and wherefores of the effect of classroom social class composition on achievement. Casual observation in the American school indicates a typical pattern in which the teacher plays the role of information dispenser and behavior modifier, largely in relation to that amorphous concept--the classroom group. Those familiar with the process know that the teacher typically attempts to relate the complexity of the information dispensed to the average student in the classroom in or some smaller portion thereof. It is a generally anachronistic procedure in which learning may be greatly influenced by group contagion. The teacher's effectiveness is heavily dependent upon the cooperation of group members, and upon such individual factors as conceptual development attentiveness and others.

Reviews of the process of classroom interaction reveal that the teacher does most of the talking, comprised mainly of lecturing, presenting instructions, and disciplining students (Baldwin, 1965; Amidon and Simon, 1965). This procedure appears to be subjected to gross interference in the lower-class Negro school in which 50 to 80 percent of classroom time may be given over to discipline and other irrelevant activities (Deutsch, 1960). Other studies have also demonstrated that the disruptive and destructive behaviors of individuals in the peer group are highly subject to contagion (Polansky, Lippitt and Redl, 1954; Bandura and Walters, 1963), and may occur irrespective of competing values in the family. Individuals from backgrounds appropriate to learning in typical middle-class environs may thus contribute to a general disintegration of the process of group learning in the classroom, or their positive influences on the learning process may not be felt due to the prevailing climate of interference contributed by the behaviors of their less advantaged peers. The conditions under which such influences constitute a substantial and continuing source of "noise" in the learning process have not generally been the subject of systematic investigation (e.g., the proportion of lower-status students needed to tip the balance in favor of disorder or inattentiveness, teacher factors, the influences of particular student characteristics, etc.), but the symptons of the deteriorated learning environment are widely recognized among educators.

Other factors contributing to interference with learning in the typical classroom include teacher expectations and the resultant feelings of inferiority communicated to the student. To some extent, it appears that such expectations and feelings may be held in relation to an entire school in which educational deficits and ability differences relative to whites and other upper-status students are made abundantly clear (Pettigrew, 1964). Green (1969) reports a further effect in the tendency of teachers in the "inferior" school to reduce the quality and quantity of information made available in instruction. It would appear that interference with learning resulting from teacher expectations would relate to school and classroom morale, reflected in such factors as self-esteem, sense of control and intellectual and occupational aspirations--which may in turn be reflected in more directly relevant factors such as attentiveness in class and doing one's homework.

The learning-interference factors described in relation to the "inferior" school should also be relevant in schools with grouping policies which result in either social class isolation within schools or combinations of different levels of racial and social class isolation, depending upon the class status of the white student population and the proportion of "integrated" Negroes in the school. Green (1969) reports that intra-school de facto segregation in multiracial schools results in white students regarding minority students as "different." Minority students come to regard themselves as "different," due to their attendance in special classes. Both groups relate the notion of "being different" to intellectual superiority and inferiority. An extensive empirical study of ability grouping reported by Borg (1966) generally supported Green's conclusion on the potential harmful effects of grouping on students' personality characteristics. Randomly grouped students were found to differ significantly from ability grouped students in the areas of self concept, acceptance of self and feelings of belonging, with the differences favoring randomly grouped students.

Intraschool segregation appears to be a likely outcome of school desegregation plans which are initiated within the grouping structures found in the typical secondary school, middle school and even within some elementary schools. The results of McPartland's analysis, reviewed in Chapter IV, suggest that the facilitating effects of integration on Negro achievement will be minor if Negro students are isolated within the majority white school. On the other hand, an appropriate balance of Negro and white students on a classroom basis appeared to be substantially facilitating, encompassing social class effects in both the classroom and total student body. Strangely, the results of integration programs reported by Hansen (1960) and Sullivan and Stewart (1969) both appeared to involve isolation of Negro students through broad tracking programs, and both programs appear to indicate overall facilitating effects on Negro achievement. In either case, the extent of intraschool segregation is unknown, but the outcome of this policy in both situations was substantial protest from the Negro community and eventual moves to eliminate tracking.

A further outcome of intraschool segregation within the biracial school is the attendant reduction of opportunities for increasing interracial understanding, which may occur through the close contact and interaction that can be made available in the interracial classroom. Segregated classrooms, on the other hand, can become a major source of interracial friction within the school (Sullivan and Stewart, 1969). Evidence discussed in Chapter V tends to indicate that the development of interracial friendships in the integrated school may be one of the major factors responsible for the successful adaptation of the disadvantaged Negro student in the white, middle-class school setting. Desegregation programs, which result in the isolation of Negro students through tracking or other forms of grouping thus defeat the very purpose of integration, and may in turn arouse serious conflict and disorder. The latter result may seriously delay the potentially positive impact of integration on both white and Negro students.

Conflict in the Interracial School

Turning now to some brief considerations of the problem of interracial conflict, a report, "Conflict in the Nation's High Schools," (Urban

Crisis Monitor, May 1969) documents recent evidence of student protest and active conflict in the nation's high schools.[36] This report begins by describing a racial explosion in a junior high school in the Watts area in Los Angeles in March 1969, and goes on to say: "The pattern of confrontation in Los Angeles is typical of high school racial disorders across the nation /italics theirs (p. 3)7." In January 1969, 67 percent of all city and suburban high schools and 56 percent of all junior high schools were experiencing some form of active student protest. Racial conflict was the most common single issue in these protests, and was at the heart of the ugliest and most violent of the protests. In the January survey about 10 percent of the secondary schools studies reported some race related protest underway. The Urban Research Corporation made a detailed analysis of racial disruptions in American high schools during the first four months of 1969, and identified five major characteristics common to high school racial protests:

1. Conflict is usually triggered by a minor incident involving two students--one white, one Negro--which then explodes into a free-for-all.
2. The extent of violence experienced seems related to the racial composition of the school. Schools close to 50-50, white-Negro proportions tend to direct violence toward each other in mass battles involving Negro and white pupils. In those where Negroes constitute a clear minority (20 percent

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[36] This account on conflict in the schools is taken from a communication prepared by Dr. John Harding, Department of Human Development and Family Studies, Cornell University, who graciously reviewed the present report and suggested the inclusion of this information.

or less), protest was limited to peaceful disruptions.

3. Negro students' demands focus on changes in curricula, faculty and administrative personnel, and on disciplinary policies. Demands for Black studies include Afro-American history, African languages and Black culture. Demands for more Negro teachers and administrators were made in almost every case. Not uncommonly, demands were also made for the resignation of particular teachers or administrators.
4. The school boycott was the universal tool used to gain acceptance of demands, usually with the support of concerned parents' groups and community organizations.
5. Police and security guards have been unable to do more than maintain an uneasy peace. Police patrols are now common in the urban school; in New York City, security guards are stationed in every junior and senior high school. Newark's schools now maintain a security force larger than the police forces of many New Jersey communities.
6. Schools appear to calm slowly, if at all. Tensions generally remain; teacher assaults were up 30 percent during the first six months of 1969 over the same period in 1968. Many teachers are now carrying guns. Further study reported by the Urban Research Corporation suggests that unrest in the schools appears to be a general and long-term phenomenon resulting from the search for excitement, educational

> grievances, and rising antagonism between Negro and white students.

Obviously this is a new dimension which must be considered in plans for school desegregation. Mark Chesler's (1969) work is one of the few current sources which provides some understanding of the underlying elements involved in interracial conflict in the schools. Part of the problem appears to be historical.

> Centuries of cultural rejection and isolation prepare most young Negroes to be fearful and hostile of interaction with whites. Centuries of isolation and a sense of cultural superiority prepare most young whites to be both cautious and arrogant about interaction with Negroes. Contemporary cultural commitments and feelings of attraction and concern, fear and guilt, work together to produce tremendous ambivalence and hesitance about personal or societal relationships that are interracial. This societal ambivalence is reflected in the relative inability of youngsters to accept differences as legitimate, in the fear of interracial chaos and conflict inflamed by the press, in their inability to understand our society's racial history and contemporary confusion, in the pressure of parents to protect and segregate their children, and in the students' inability to probe surely into the roots and symptoms of their own feelings about race (Chesler, 1969, pp. 97-98).

Chesler's research on intergroup contact in desegregated schools led him to conclude that the feelings underlying potential interracial conflict in the biracial school are by no means idiosyncratic or unusual. His data and that of the Urban Research Corporation underline the need for carefully planned intervention in initiating desegregation in the schools.

Manipulating the Group Learning Situation in the Racially Isolated School: Some Basic Recommendations

When one examines past progress on school desegregation, it is evident that extensive segregation will probably exist in the inner-city schools of the nation for some time to come. In lieu of rapid change in the extent of racial isolation in the schools, it appears that much effort should be expended in reducing sources of learning interference presumed to be generally present in the racially isolated school as a function of social class homogeneity. The present interpretation of the findings of Coleman et al. and other studies on the influence of social class factors on the outcomes of instruction suggest the following implications for educational practice in the racially isolated school:

1. That typical group processes in the learning situation be generally circumvented through replacement with individualized modes of instruction or small group learning in which students are appropriately matched to avoid sources of interference with learning.
2. That systematic group experiences be developed in which students may gradually learn to participate effectively in group activities, particularly those activities which may lead to increased socialization.
3. That teachers be trained to effectively communicate achievement expectations which recognize the child's basic willingness to learn and discover, and not the disabling conditions of his background.
4. That the child's learning experiences at the outset involve extensive structuring or control, through various techniques and facilities, until self-maintenance of desirable learning behaviors become strongly evident.
5. That the child receive systematic training in attending to relevant stimulation in the learning situation and responding appropriately.

The above procedures may also be relevant for instruction of disadvantaged Negro students in the interracial school. However, exclusive emphasis on individualized instruction and/or the use of tracking or ability grouping in the interracial school may be seen as defeating the very purposes of integration.

The findings of studies such as those of Coleman *et al*. and Wilson (Chapter IV) appear to extend beyond effects associated with intraschool segregation. These findings should instigate serious examination of the entire question of the educational and psychological efficacy of ability grouping and tracking, which by implication result in the introduction of social class isolation in the schools, irrespective of racial composition. The planning of school integration programs should explicitly avoid tracking and ability grouping in favor of other procedures which maximize positive social and cognitive interaction in an interracial setting. Further than this, high level educational policy should give explicit recognition of the potential damage to all students represented by the widespread application of tracking and ability grouping at all educational levels. While this change is highly desirable it should be recognized that if most teachers are to work within it, it will necessarily involve the commitment of substantial resources to both the development of materials and appropriate teacher behaviors that will make widespread individualized instruction a learning mode that teachers can confidently employ and establish as a reality in the schools throughout the Nation.

Creating the Basis for True Integration: Some Recommendations for Arranging Appropriate Conditions of Social Interaction

The review of studies on social interaction in the classroom in Chapter V and the foregoing considerations of the increasing prevalence of racial cleavage in the interracial school suggest the following conditions as being necessary for the establishment of a facilitating classroom climate in the newly integrated school:

1. Since the student's social status in the classroom seems to affect his level of academic success and vice-versa (i.e., it is a circular process) a major effort should be mounted to insure early and continuing success in the academic area. The application of certain approaches and programs designed to mitigate experiential learning deficits (described in other sections of this chapter, and in the body of the report) may be necessary to the academic success of the desegregated Negro student. Such efforts may be defeated unless the student also realizes a reasonable measure of social success. Specific attention must therefore be paid to the minority student's own capabilities and tendencies in social responses and the tendencies of whites in the interracial situation.
2. The review in Chapter V indicates that the classroom teacher typically exerts a major influence on the social status of students. Such influence is frequently exerted in relation to conforming, class-linked behavior, student responses and other behaviors indicative of achievement, sex of student, and students' racial status (Chesler, 1969). These forms of influence are rapidly communicated to the peer group, who, in turn, reject the "offender." As indicated in

> Chapter V, this pattern is more likely to extend to the typical Negro student, and thus specific steps must be taken to train teachers to respond appropriately in the classroom. Further, it appears important to face the influences of race itself on the process of social interaction through a variety of techniques ranging from dispensing information to direct confrontation under sensitive and controlled circumstances.

Appropriate teacher training programs may include the following experiences, further designed and specified in relation to appropriateness for different student groups:

1. Experiences directly illustrating typical patterns of teacher-to-student communication which represent the application of negative class- and caste-linked attitudes. These experiences would further incorporate direct practice in attaining social responses which imply positive recognition of behavioral differences associated with variations in sociocultural background.
2. Practice in managing patterns of interracial interaction which would focus on historical, cultural and economic differences associated with race and class status.
3. Practice in the application of techniques which would allay the stress value of certain elements of the learning situation, e.g., test-taking, verbal

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participation in classroom activities and the experience of difficulty with traditional learning materials and approaches;

4. Practice in the utilization of principles based in social psychological research which relate to changing intergroup attitudes. One of the prime examples proceeds from the work of Sherif (1958) which showed that intergroup attitudes may be changed when alienated groups pursued activities involving the achievement of a common goal; and
5. Knowledge of Negro history, social problems, individual and group differences relating to success in American society, and an understanding of current forces of social interest.

Teacher training programs which include the aforementioned and other relevant experiences may then provide an important basis for the creation of harmonious and constructive racial relations in the classroom. Applications of relevant teacher training may then be used for constructive teaching of the elements and implications of cultural pluralism, as well as the implementation of intergroup experiences which directly face the implications of racial prejudice and discrimination (see Chesler, 1969, for examples of relevant teaching strategies). The teacher's role in promoting harmonious interracial relations in the classroom may be further aided by explicit recognition of the history and culture of American minority groups in all relevant areas and phases of the curriculum. A variety of such efforts are given in Sullivan and Stewart's (1969) report on the Berkeley experience.

The introduction of Black history and culture into the curriculum and sensitive classroom discussion of issues centering on cultural pluralism may assist both white and Negro students in understanding their differences and making successful adaptations in their patterns of social interaction. Such efforts would appear to be most important at the junior and senior high school levels, but only experience and carefully controlled study will offer definitive answers concerning the procedures which work best at different grade levels and with students from different backgrounds. However, as helpful as these efforts might seem for the creation of harmonious interracial relations, they may yet fail or prove only partially effective if steps are not also taken to develop substantial community support and participation in the academic program. The work of Chesler et al. (1968) and a review of relevant studies by Proshansky (1966) indicate that parents exert a powerful and continuing effect upon the manifestations of their children's racial attitudes in the school.

The Berkeley integration program provides one of the outstanding examples of successful administrative efforts to obtain community involvement in all stages of the process of school integration. One of the efforts previously mentioned involved the introduction of some 500 volunteers, Negro and white, who engaged directly in the process of instruction. Other useful guidelines relating to community participation in the process of school integration include (paraphrased from Sullivan and Stewart, 1969, pp. 199-201):

1. Encouraging minority groups, particularly the poor, to take the initiative, speak out and become leaders.
2. Involving all civic, university, church, business, service groups and minority organizations, including

the Black Power leaders.

3. Involving parents at all steps of the process, particularly minority parents.
4. Continually informing the public of progress made and of plans for the future.
5. Providing intergroup education in in-service units and seminars for the public.
6. Scheduling social events, picnics and weekend retreats, for both Negro and white parents.
7. Involving students, parents and teachers in interracial workshops, meetings and neighborhood discussions.
8. Integrating after-school recreational programs.

The approach used at Berkeley contains the important element of involvement of minority parents in educational decision making and change. The opportunities thus created for increased contact with whites should assist in eliminating the parent-child conflict which might result when the Negro child begins to acquire new attitudes and values in the integrated school (cf. Bronfenbrenner, 1967). A similar effect would be expected among white parents. Although not entirely systematic, the approaches used at Berkeley seem to have generally applied Sherif's principle of "working toward a common goal." To the extent that application of this principle can be implemented to involve teachers, students, the educational leadership, and parents and community leaders of both races, then to that extent the potential for racial clevage and conflict in the school and community can be replaced by a gradual development of harmonious interracial relations in all important areas of social and intellectual interaction.

The Need for Flexible Organization in the Integrated School

The suggestion made in the section on compensatory education indicate the need for extensive and flexible change in the disadvantaged school. The foregoing considerations suggest that the effective "integrated" school will necessarily depart from traditional organizational patterns and approaches to instruction. The social science literature may assist the educational planner in designing relevant approaches to instruction in the integrated school. Bronfenbrenner (1967), for example, has suggested some relevant approaches to the education of the Negro student in the integrated school setting, based on a careful analysis of the psychological, intellectual and cultural legacy of Negroes in America. These approaches include the use of male Negro figures, as teachers and aides; and after-school programs involving parents and adolescents (both white and Negro), modeled after procedures used in Soviet schools and in Head Start. These approaches are also relevant to the problem of compensatory education in general.

The flexibility required by the inclusion of a variety of new programs, activities and personnel in the effective integrated school would appear to necessitate basic changes in organizational structure. One approach with considerable potential for accommodating the great need for structural flexibility in the integrated school is the continuous learning year.

The main features of the continuous learning year allow the adoption of educational practices which are theoretically relevant to the learning needs of the disadvantaged child, and of greater practical significance--allow the introduction of compensatory education in the integrated school setting without removing the child from participation in the regular school program (i.e., in integrated classes.) Some of the advantages of the Continuous Learning Year, in this respect, are outlined as follows and further illustrated in Figure 13:[37]

1. A restructuring of the school year calendar provides multiple vacations during the school year (see Figure 13). The new learning cycles of eight or nine weeks followed by a two week vacation provides a continuity of learning that does not exist with the regular school year calendar. The absence of a serious break in the learning process means that teachers no longer have to spend weeks in the fall reviewing or reteaching in hopes of bringing the students back to the learning levels they had reached just prior to the close of school in June.
2. A second advantage of the Continuous Learning Year calendar lies in the possibility of providing the children with approximately 10 percent more education without necessarily increasing school costs. One variation of the Continuous Learning Year cycling plan provides 200 days of instruction. During the school year all students are provided recess periods of two weeks after eight or nine weeks of study. The periods of intermittent vacation made available, as shown in Figure 13, provide up to 10 weeks of

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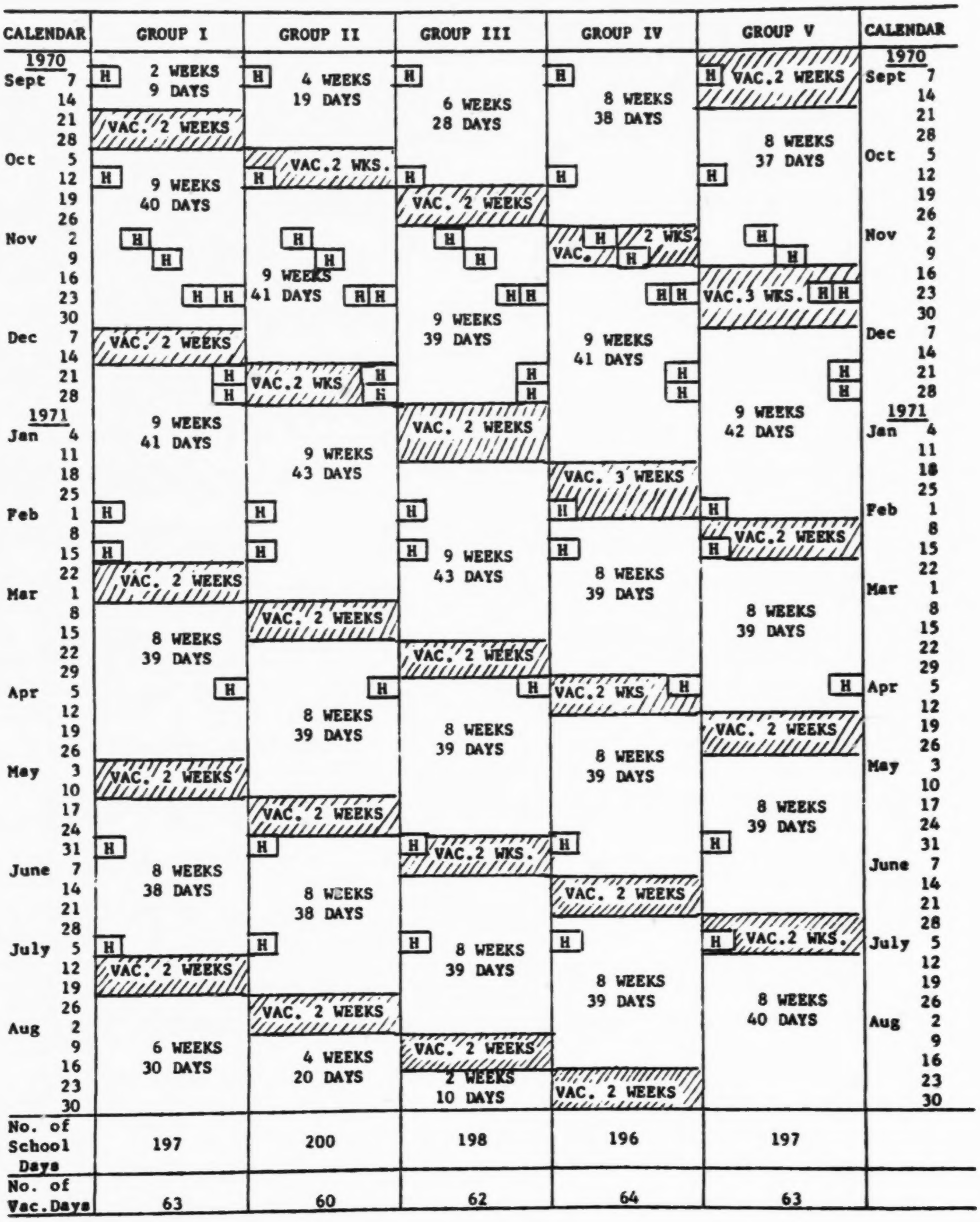
[37] Dr. George Thomas, Coordinator for Rescheduling the School Year, NYSED, provided the material for this section.

Figure 13

Student Vacation Patterns in the Continuous Learning Program:
The Eight to Nine Week Cycle


CALENDAR
GROUP I
GROUP II
GROUP III
GROUP IV
GROUP V
CALENDAR
1970
Sept 7 14 21 28
Oct 5 12 19 26
Nov 2 9 16 23 30
Dec 7 14 21 28
1971
Jan 4 11 18 25
Feb 1 8 15 22
Mar 1 8 15 22 29
Apr 5 12 19 26
May 3 10 17 24 31
June 7 14 21 28
July 5 12 19 26
Aug 2 9 16 23 30
H
2 WEEKS 9 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
9 WEEKS 40 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
9 WEEKS 41 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 38 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
6 WEEKS 30 DAYS
4 WEEKS 19 DAYS
VAC.2 WKS.
9 WEEKS 41 DAYS
VAC.2 WKS
9 WEEKS 43 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 38 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
4 WEEKS 20 DAYS
6 WEEKS 28 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
9 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
9 WEEKS 43 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC.2 WKS.
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
2 WEEKS 10 DAYS
8 WEEKS 38 DAYS
VAC. 2 WKS.
9 WEEKS 41 DAYS
VAC. 3 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC.2 WKS
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
VAC.2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 37 DAYS
VAC.3 WKS.
9 WEEKS 42 DAYS
VAC.2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC. 2 WEEKS
8 WEEKS 39 DAYS
VAC.2 WKS.
8 WEEKS 40 DAYS
No. of School Days
197
200
198
196
197
No. of Vac.Days
63
60
62
64
63

additional instructional time which can be used for compensatory education as well as other educational efforts deemed desirable in the interracial school. Such an arrangement may not necessarily entail large increases in instructional costs if the school can avail itself of low-cost instructional aides and volunteers as in the Berkeley integration program.

3. Implementation of the Continuous Learning Year Cycling program calls for a new look at the curriculum and the teaching process. For example, teachers should be prepared to take students where they find them. This calls for the development of a curriculum which has been broken into short learning units or contracts. If this is done the teachers can work towards the individualization of the learning process.
4. The Continuous Learning Year cycling plan should enable a school system to operate without the gradual shutting down in June and the arduous task of reopening in September. Since learning is considered as a continuous process, the time normally wasted on closing and opening activities becomes available for the enrichment of the curriculum or lives of the students.
5. Dollar savings in the regular school program are possible with the adoption of recommended cycling plans which can help change the setting for learning.

Besides incorporating the basic feature of making more time available for instruction, through a variety of plans, the lengthened school year may also make available large blocks of free time (referred to as "E" time) for independent study, special programs, (e.g., Black studies) vocational and technical education programs and experimentation with special programs designed for the disadvantaged child. The flexibility thus introduced merits serious consideration in plans involving school desegregation, but the basic features of the lengthened school year are no less desirable in the disadvantaged school.

Compensatory Education: Implications for Research and Practice

The school population analysis in Chapter II makes it abundantly clear that the educational and social problems represented by the disadvantaged school are growing rather than decreasing. When viewing the past record of progress in accomplishing desegregation in the schools in New York State, and generally in the nation, it appears unrealistic to expect that great numbers of minority students will suddenly experience the educationally facilitating effects of the integrated school setting. The only way out of this impasse, in such areas as New York City, is to provoke massive and radical change in the educational process, while at the same time making all possible efforts to increase the pace of school desegregation. The notion of "compensation for educational inadequacies", which usually reflects something added to the educational process (which in itself is likely to prove ineffective), should now reflect the need to work basic changes in the schools as well as the need to "intervene" at appropriate stages in the child's development.

The discussion in this section outlines some suggested changes and considerations for improving upon current efforts to effect educational change among disadvantaged children. This is not a comprehensive set of suggestions, but treats a few key areas relating to research, program development and staff training.

Changes Needed in Research Relating to the Disadvantaged School[38]

It is obvious from what has been done so far that very little is known about why minority groups (especially Negroes) do not seem to benefit from standard educational treatments. A large part of this ignorance is simply due to poor research and the absence of sustained quality research effort. An initial recommendation therefore would be to establish a research center (or several centers) which has as its expressed purpose conducting good research directed toward furthering knowledge about and ability to successfully educate minority groups. The potentialities of such a center are almost unlimited and could range from operating a research and demonstration center in ghetto areas to furnishing specific school systems with advice and personnel support for carrying out successful evaluations of their own educational efforts. This type of center might even be part of a minority studies program and provide graduate training for students interested in carrying out research in this area. It could also train service personnel (e.g., teachers) which are needed. This could be a multi-disciplinary center which would include medical and nutritional experts (an area needing much more study) as well as psychologists, educators, etc. One of the major problems with all of the research in this area has been that many uncoordinated shotgun approaches employed by many independent researchers simply have not led to appropriate answers. It appears that the chances of really making a difference in finding answers lie in sustained, well-planned efforts which have enough long-term support so that early failures (such as Head Start has experienced) will not bring about threats of financial abandonment, or loss of confidence.

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[38] Parts of the discussion and recommendations in this section were taken from material provided by Dr. Vernon C. Hall, Syracuse University.

Specific Research Recommendations--The available evidence suggests that the major problems with most intervention studies (procedures designed to intervene in the intellectual development of the disadvantaged child) conducted so far stem from deficiencies in the following interrelated areas: (1) evaluation procedures typically used; (2) degree of treatment specificity and monitoring of such treatments; (3) provisions for longitudinal follow-up; (4) specific knowledge about the environment or characteristics of the sample experiencing the intervention.

Nearly all intervention studies used a limited number of standardized tests (typically the Stanford-Binet, The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test) for indications of success. Most of them were standardized and validated using either a representative group of the total population or only white subjects. Therefore no predictive validity coefficients are available, using either lower-class subjects without intervention or computed on scores raised through intervention. It is also strange that available intervention studies fail to report the specific skills which the children were taught and the percentage of children who successfully mastered these skills. Much of the effort seems to have been directed toward raising intelligence test scores (thus by inference increasing capacity). A more appropriate approach would seem to include both measures of specific gain and more general measures designed to measure specific generalization effects. For instance, the Lesser, Fifer and Clark (1965) measures could be used in measuring the effects of a program designed to increase verbal skills (along with a specific vocabulary test measuring the words taught). One could also see then what effect a change in the verbal test (assuming improvement) had on reasoning ability. Another example is one suggested by Jensen who hypothesizes two levels of learning ability (essentially abstract and associative). Thus one could use both a very specific test of the skills taught as well as the Raven Matrices (a test demanding abstract thinking) and the digit span test (hypothesized to be associative in nature). It would be interesting and useful to see the results of interventions designed to improve what are already strong areas of particular populations (i.e., vocabulary in the case of Negroes) compared with interventions designed to improve weak areas (i.e., abstract thinking).

Major efforts are also needed in developing new testing approaches for evaluating intervention efforts in every area. It would also be valuable to establish predictive validity coefficients using minority groups on present tests. The most important need, however, is to demand that intervention researchers be required to assess specific skills being trained. A perfect intervention project would result in every child learning everything taught regardless of initial and subsequent I.Q. scores. This would mean that the correlation of gain with pre- or post-I.Q. scores would be zero. Such a procedure would also demand careful specification of instructional goals and when this is done construction of criterion tests is relatively easy.

Some interventionists emphasize curriculum while others stress mainly strategy. It is possible that interesting interactions would be discovered if more studies would manipulate both curriculum and strategy at the same time. It is not enough, however, to simply describe treatments used in such research. Researchers must make provision for actually observing the teachers and empirically establishing that the treatments which were supposed to be used were actually used.

Longitudinal follow-up of initially successful intervention projects should always be provided for, but in itself this is not enough; replications are also needed. A good model would be a three-year project with a replication (using hypothesized improvements learned from previous years) the second and third years, Weikart (1967), uses such an approach.

The final weakness of intervention research derives from an incredible ignorance about the culture from which "culturally deprived" children come. The literature is filled with speculations about the critical differences between lower-class and middle-class homes without any empirical basis. This includes statements that the lower-class home provides less stimulation, less organization, lower aspirations (the present report for example, showed that lower-class parents do indeed have the same aspirations for their children, and speculates that they do not do those things which are necessary for their children to reach the goals the parents have in mind), more restricted codes of communication (when Bernstein, 1964, is careful to point out that his ideas apply to only English subjects), etc.

The findings reviewed in this report have not focused in any substantial way on the sources of minority group inadequacy in other than the school setting. The findings of major studies reviewed, however, substantiate that the socioeconomic standing of the family is one of the most important factors contributing to the educational success of the child. Reviews of research on factors relating to family socioeconomic status reveal that probable contributing factors among Negroes include inadequate nutrition and prenatal care in pregnancy, nutrition and health care in later stages of development, deteriorated family structure, inadequate intellectual stimulation, patterns of child rearing which appear to affect such educationally relevant factors as initiative and creativity and the effects of discrimination and alienation from the broader society (Ricciuti 1969; Bronfenbrenner 1967; Dreger and Miller 1968).

Although these and other factors relating to socioeconomic and ethnic status have some relation to developmental status among Negroes, relatively little is known of the details of operation of their influences and of their specific effects on intellectual and educational development. Indeed, research on the contributions of particular class-linked factors to educational development is strangely indecisive. Bronfenbrenner (1967) for example, has presented a clear-cut case for a strong influence of father-absence on the educational development of the Negro child, based on evidence from generally small scale studies. Two large-scale studies of this factor (Coleman et al., 1966; Wilson, 1967) failed to show any influence of the structural integrity of the home on achievement among Negro students, when the influences of other correlated factors had been accounted for. The findings of these latter studies are not necessarily interpretable as indicating that father-absence has no effect on educational development among Negroes, only that the evidence is inconsistent with the hypothesis that father-absence has a direct effect. One is placed in similarly equivocal circumstances when examining the results of studies of the intellectual and educational consequences of such factors as bilingualism, child rearing practices, family composition; maternal employment, family mobility and nutritional status (NYSED, 1968; Ricciuti, 1969), all of which would seem to have different and generally negative effects among lower-status families.

The generally equivocal nature of research on individual family background factors, which theoretically contribute to success or failure in the educational setting, should not be taken as a fruitless enterprise from a decision-making point of view. Rather, the strong contribution of gross indexes of socioeconomic status to educational success should provide the basis for more extensive and new kinds of research and programmatic efforts to discover what it is about the family lives of children that contribute to their intellectual and psychological development. Research directed at the discovery of the sequences in which individual family background factors operate, and then are operated upon, can constitute a rational basis for action in working directly with the family. Various means of pre-school intervention, along with appropriate interventions in the family, may turn out to be what is needed to obtain more far reaching and longer lasting effects on the progress of an individual's development than appears to be possible with present techniques.

Compensatory Education and Integration--A final area of consideration which remains virtually untouched by experimentation concerns the kinds of compensatory education programs which might prove effective with the disadvantaged minority student who suddenly finds himself transferred to an integrated school setting. At various places in this report, it has been stated or implied that the major focus of compensatory efforts might well be in the pre-school phase, where intervention would be simpler to accomplish and might generally prove more efficient and effective in the long run. However, if integration in the schools is to become a reality, educators, who are generally used to traditional approaches to teaching, as applied in a relatively ideal climate, will be faced with groups of youngsters with special educational needs. Current studies fail to indicate that teachers accomplish any basic changes in instruction as a result of integration. Rather, the available evidence suggests that teachers make minor adjustments in the instructional process (e.g., discuss Black history), and that the facilitating effect of integration on Negro achievement is primarily a function of the social milieu.

The educational gap remaining between Negroes and whites in the integrated school setting thus becomes an important focus of intervention research. Other sections of this chapter have focused on the need to create an appropriate social environment in the integrated school as an important condition of the Negro student's academic success. However, academic success is also determined by the extent to which the student's capabilities, attitudes and learning styles match the requirements of available instructional approaches and materials. The greater variance of Negro achievement in integrated schools noted in Coleman _et al_. and other studies reviewed in this report, indicate that many Negro students fail to adapt to the learning requirements of the typical middle-class white school.

Program Formulation and Development

In the recommendations for research on compensatory education, it was proposed that the problem might be better handled through the development of centers which would focus on research, implementation and the training of specialized personnel capable of conducting effective programs in the schools. The basis for this recommendation proceeds from consideration of current approaches to compensatory education in the schools which are often largely dependent on educational practitioners as a primary source of ideas. Such is the case where programs are funded on the basis of competitive (or noncompetitive) proposal submissions. Generally, it appears that school district personnel react with proposals which reflect the training and experiences of teachers, administrators and other supporting staff. Such training may be appropriate for running the typical school, but it appears to have been largely inappropriate for the development of the types of research and program development activities which may effect significant and needed change in the disadvantaged schools of the nation.

Where programs are formulated and directed by capable non-public school personnel, the results frequently include wasteful duplication, lack of comparability due to dissimilarities in measurement approaches in otherwise similar programs and faulty implementation due to a scarcity of adequately trained personnel. Moreover, many of the results of this more systematic research never reach school personnel in usable form. Chesler (1969) has correctly concluded that books, lectures and films on new approaches to education seem to engender little change in the schools. It thus seems clear that certain organizational changes are required in the ways in which intervention research is conceived and conducted and in the ways in which it is implemented in the schools.

An alternate procedure recommended here would involve the establishment of special centers whose tasks would focus on the special educational requirements of newly integrated schools, and those schools which would fit the category of "disadvantaged." These institutions would serve the State educational agency, the community, and the public schools in a designated area. Operating and development costs would be derived from a pooling of portions of State and Federal funds normally devoted to such activities as compensatory education and innovation (perhaps 10 or 15 percent). A series of such centers would operate primarily within and around the urban centers of a single state or region in a fashion similar to the Federally supported regional educational laboratories, but would be further centralized to insure comparability among certain elements of program activity (e.g., evaluation techniques).

The bulk of state and Federal funds, intended for compensatory education and related efforts and normally apportioned to the LEA, would still be received by the public schools. However, the expenditures of these funds would be controlled or chanelled in such a way that a significant portion would be used to support specific programs generated by the intervention center for implementation in the schools (excluding any program funds which are intended to render additional general aid to urban and other districts.)

The centers' program activities would be founded on the basis of a careful analysis of the available information from prior research and development activities, and would further reflect the knowledge and leadership of the state educational agency and the LEA, and the broad social and educational needs of the communities served by the center. The plan, in its bare outlines, would begin with the determination of general priorities or broad program objectives formulated by the educational leadership. Initial stages of the centers' activities would focus on broad technical reviews of the scientific literature (allocated among centers), which are further translated for consumption by different levels of the educational leadership and by those responsible for direct implementation of educational programs (e.g., teachers, guidance counselors, etc.).

These broad technical reviews called "state of the art reports," are designed to present an up-to-date analysis of the current state of research and program development efforts in a particular field of study relevant to the educational process and/or broad social problems which impinge on the effectiveness of the schools. Such reports also specify the form and level in which the information is to be transmitted, the target populations to which the information is to be transmitted, the procedures for dissemination, and where warranted--the procedures for implementation and demonstration. Some possible results of state of the art reports potentially include the following·

1. A basis may be created for educational policy making at high levels.
2. Where the findings of research and development activities in the problem area have been positive and systematic, relatively immediate packaging and dissemination of instructional materials, procedures and guides for program development may be possible.
3. Specific direction may be given to leadership efforts oriented toward the solution of major educational problems which derive from current social-psychological conditions and require extensive reorientation of the educational enterprise.
4. The systematic knowledge made available in the state of the art reports may provide sorely needed direction to school districts for locally supported instructional and organizational changes required by their particular social contexts.
5. Finally, the results of the state of the art report would provide an efficient basis for the formulation of new research and development efforts, which would

constitute one of the major activities of the intervention center. What has been done so far through research would be known. What remains to be done may be determined through an examination of priorities. The how of doing it may proceed more efficiently and effectively when relevant knowledge of the problem area is systematically surveyed and interpreted.

To insure that state of the art reports, resultant program packages and the results of the intervention centers' own developments have an intensive impact on educational practice, a major effort of center activities would involve direct assistance in implementing and researching programs in the schools. Some examples of the service functions of the center might be:

1. Interpret further the findings of significant state of the art reports and other relevant research efforts to local school staff.
2. Plan, with school district staff, the implementation of research findings in the local setting.
3. Assist local school district staff in the implementation process itself by bringing to bear the specialized knowledge of the social and behavioral sciences on a continuing basis.
4. Provide for more adequate validation of promising new programs through cooperative efforts with several school districts, thereby establishing an adequate basis for generalization of findings to other educational settings.
5. Provide the leadership and resources for broad dissemina-

tion and demonstration of relevant research findings and successful program developments.

6. Develop, for implementation by other agencies, guidelines and other resources which present detailed plans and requirements for new staff training programs, such as teaching specialists and teacher aides.
7. Provide a fertile field for the systematic training of school personnel in realistic situations, in cooperation with institutions of higher education.
8. Provide the resources for continuing supervision and adjustment of new programs implemented in the schools.
9. Provide the independent leadership necessary to involve other relevant agencies (e.g., social welfare agencies, foundation support, other Federal programs) in a concerted and experimental attack on social problems which grossly affect the lives of disadvantaged children, some of which cannot be easily or effectively circumvented by efforts in the school context alone.

The basic assumptions of the aforementioned plan for gaining more systematic control over funds allocated for intervention research and educational change in the disadvantaged school are clear: (1) local control over program formulation and implementation has proven inefficient and largely ineffective; (2) the efforts and contributions of programs, initiated by investigators independently of public school leadership have also had relatively little impact on school practice for a variety of reasons already indicated; (3) the present informal structure for getting into the hands of public school personnel the results of significant new research and development activities is totally inadequate to the task at hand; and (4) the entire process of decision-making relating to the allocation of funds for research and development activities relevant to effective changes in the disadvantaged school generally fails to relate to the available body of systematic knowledge of the educational process. If these assumptions are valid, it is then difficult to conceive of any significant changes occurring in the context of the urban school as long as the present decision-making structure remains intact. The alternatives for changing this structure contained in the above proposals are only one set of alternatives, and may be appropriate in a limited range of circumstances. Serious consideration of such alternatives appears to be required if the pace of positive change in the education of disadvantaged children is to achieve even a low correlation with the need for such change.

The Teacher and the Disadvantaged School

Much of the discussion surrounding the teaching requirements of the disadvantaged school indicates a strong need to recognize individual differences in formulating relevant instructional strategies. However, systematic matching of instructional strategies with individual learning requirements does not yet appear possible on any but an experimental basis. Basic research on the problem has not resulted in anything near a comprehensive delineation of the varieties of abilities and personality characteristics which influence learning in different kinds of tasks. Rather, recent research appears to offer consideration of a wider variety of student characteristics and patterns among characteristics (e.g., the work of Jensen, 1969: Lesser *et al*., 1965) which appear relevant to the design of instructional environments, but at the same time expand the complexity of the problem. Research on compensatory education programs, reviewed in

Chapter VI, also suggests a number of approaches and principles which may have general applicability in the disadvantaged school setting, and, to some extent, in education in general.

It is thus evident that relevant strategies for teaching disadvantaged children are yet essentially experimental. Strategies for teacher preparation and in-service training should therefore reflect what is "known" about disadvantaged children, as well as the tentative nature of its possible applications. Consequently, an efficient approach to teacher training in this area might well focus on the development of basic capabilities which are likely to form the essential components of a broad variety of instructional and psychological techniques coordinated with varieties of cultural and economic disadvantagement. Based primarily on the findings reviewed in Chapters III and VI, some relevant capabilities might consist of the following:

1. Ability to assess and interpret measures of fundamental abilities and skills relevant to learning (e.g., specific learning abilities; basic learning abilities).
2. Ability to select and apply basic teaching strategies which reflect recognition of learning capacities or abilities of various levels, and which are coordinated with strategies for the measurement of abilities (e.g., associative learning; concept learning at various levels).
3. Ability to systematically apply a variety of reinforcement strategies, utilizing different kinds of schedules and different types of reinforcers (concrete, abstract) under appropriate conditions.
4. Ability to apply specific training techniques in a

variety of areas where intellectual and educational deficits are most severe among the disadvantaged (e.g., language training, reasoning, etc.).

5. Ability to manipulate affective tone in intergroup processes to create desired results.
6. Ability to create instructional materials to meet the specific learning requirements of individual children.
7. Ability to train children in certain specific behaviors such as "attending to the task."
8. Ability to apply quasi-therapeutic procedures designed to circumvent or replace maladaptive defensive and other responses which interfere with efficient learning.

One may go on to list other abilities or behaviors which seem relevant to the experimental tasks of the teacher of disadvantaged children and which are derivable from research on ethnic and social class differences in intellectual, educational and psychological development. It is evident that few trainees might live so long as to gain the experiences which would enable them to carry out the variety of functions which seem to be required. The requirements then suggest a team approach, in which team members would receive further training in disadvantaged school settings in order to learn the procedures wherein different approaches and skills are combined to solve instructional and related problems.

When one views the literature on current approaches to training teachers of the disadvantaged, in relation to the foregoing propositions, one finds little evidence of a focus on the development of basic teaching capabilities or on the combination of capabilities implied in the team approach. Haubrich's (1969) analysis of teacher preparation programs indicates that teacher training institutions are generally focusing on one or more of the following approaches: (1) dispensing information about the disadvantaged through the adoption of new courses; (2) providing the trainee with firsthand experiences with community agencies serving disadvantaged youth; and (3) providing direct teaching experience in the disadvantaged school. In general, teacher preparation programs appear to heavily emphasize experiences designed to bring about "understanding" of disadvantaged youth, while some place heavier emphasis on the direct experience component (e.g., the Teacher Corps). Haubrich's generalizations about the nature of in-service education indicate a similar heavy emphasis on "understanding" the disadvantaged, and apparently little emphasis on the learning of potentially relevant capabilities.

These generalizations about the nature of procedures for training teachers of the disadvantaged reflect at least two assumptions which may well be called into question: (1) that the development of "understanding" will necessarily be reflected in appropriate strategies for instruction; and (2) that experience in the disadvantaged school will likewise be reflected in appropriate teaching strategies, attitudes and so on. With respect to the latter assumption, one might expect that frequently the wrong or ineffective strategies could be learned, but in any event there is no substantial proof that either of these assumptions is valid.

These brief considerations suggest a rather extensive rethinking and examination of the basic assumptions underlying present programs for training teachers of the disadvantaged. Though understanding and unsystematic "experience" may form useful components of the effective training program, they provide little guarantee that the teacher so trained will be capable of behaving in an effective manner in the classroom. What appears to be a prime requirement of the effective training program, however, is a focus on specific but broadly applicable skills which can be flexibly translated to match a wide variety of competencies and developmental levels among children, as well as the procedural requirements of a variety of programs.

Summary

Educational and other efforts to mitigate the economic and social disadvantagement of Negroes and other minority groups appear to have hardly made a dent. In fact, the problem of the poor appears to have intensified, and its social consequences grown more serious, as reflected in the steady increase in racial isolation in the schools and the sudden swelling of interracial hostility in the nation's high schools.

Integrating the schools appears to offer a basic solution to the disadvantagement suffered by the Nation's minority groups, although other efforts will also be required. The findings of research generally show that educational development among Negroes can be facilitated in the integrated school setting, and that this effect appears to be more substantial if it occurs near the outset of schooling. The effect of integration in the traditional school setting appears to be essentially unrelated to anything the schools are doing, but is rather a function of the more advantaged social class background of the white majority.

However, the available evidence indicates that, in New York State, and elsewhere, Negroes and other minority students attend schools where their fellow students are predominantly from the lower social classes. In the larger cities, and even in some suburban areas in New York State, such factors as economic and residential segregation and the attendance of large numbers of white students in private schools create schools with high concentrations of economically and socially disadvantaged students.

When the details of the research findings on racial and social class isolation in the schools are examined, it is apparent that much care must be taken in planning for the integrated school if it is to have a positive effect on educational development among minority students. The research findings relating to the social class composition of the integrated school should recieve explicit recognition in the development of plans for desegregating the schools. Some suggested procedures which would be of assistance in systematically planning the desegregation process include:

1. A "flagging" procedure based on the collection of relevant data on an annual basis to identify schools at the elementary and secondary levels which are increasing in racial and social class isolation, with a concomitant decrease in overall achievement.
2. A procedure for systematic analysis of the educational and social characteristics of the

"flagged" school and the educational, economic, ethnic and cultural characteristics of its regional setting. Relevant information gathered might include:

a. Information on individual student family background factors including economic status, nutritional and health status, academic achievement and ability levels and educationally relevant attitudes.

b. Analysis of educational inequities resulting from staff turnover, inadequate materials, facilities and teaching; lack of community participation and others.

c. Identification of local economic and social resources which could be brought to bear on the problem.

d. Analysis and specification of the ethnic and economic composition of the schools (both public and private) in the region of the "flagged" school, which may serve as facilities for transfer of disadvantaged students.

The results of the analyses of ethnic composition within school districts in Chapter II suggested that certain districts could achieve "successful integration" within district confines, whereas others would require solutions involving schools outside the district. Some segregated suburban districts appeared to be more or less ideally placed to achieve integration by cooperation with surrounding districts, with a probable minor effect on overall social class composition of all schools involved. In areas such as New York City, where a predominantly lower-status Negro and Puerto Rican population constitutes more than 55 percent of public school enrollment, social class considerations in the implementation of plans for school desegregation might appear impractical. However, if private school facilities were made available, and if minority students in peripheral areas of the city could be transferred to suburban areas surrounding the city, it would appear that the great bulk of disadvantaged minority students in New York City could find themselves in educationally more desirable situations.

The Influence of Group Processes in the School

Although there is considerable potential for eliminating racial isolation in many regions, current population trends indicate that racial isolation in the schools is increasing and will continue to increase in the near future. As the extent of school segregation grows, the negative effects of group processes impinge on larger and larger numbers of minority students and thus enlarge the problem. Studies show that the typical teacher-to-group instructional pattern is liable to gross interference in the lower-status school. Other sources of learning interference are found in teacher expectations and in morale factors which reflect the attitudes of the students and the community toward the deteriorated school.

Due to the prevalence of group-oriented teaching methods, the effects of group processes may also be felt in the so-called "racially balanced" school and in the predominantly white school. Given traditional teaching approaches, whether the influence of the group on the learning process is nagative or positive, appears to depend substantially on the social class composition of the classroom. Thus schools with substantial numbers of lower-status students (whether or not this is due to desegregation), and schools which employ ability grouping and tracking may create essentially the same types of deteriorated learning environments as exist in racially isolated schools. Where the integrated school setting results in "tracking" minority students into "special classes", there is the additional negative outcome of greatly reducing opportunities for increasing interracial understanding.

The existence of segregated classes within the integrated school setting is a likely outcome if integrated Negroes are simply placed within the contemporary school structure, with the current widespread reliance on ability grouping and tracking. Such an outcome can increase the likelihood of racial cleavage and result further in outbreaks of interracial aggression. Indeed, the increase in racial disorders in the nation's secondary schools, indicates the great importance of social and psychological considerations in planning an effective integrated school.

Improving the Educational Process in the Disadvantaged School

The above considerations and realistic evaluations of the progress of integration in the schools indicate that major new efforts are needed to increase the pace of integration, while at the same time radical departures are needed to affect the educational opportunities of large numbers of students who are likely to remain in segregated schools. Certain basic recommendations may be made in each of these areas as follows:

In the disadvantaged school, it is recommended--

1. That group processes in the learning situation be generally circumvented through replacement with individualized modes of instruction or small group learning in which students are appropriately matched to avoid sources of interference with learning.
2. The systematic group experiences be developed in which students may gradually learn to participate effectively in group activities, particularly those activities which may lead to increased socialization.
3. That teachers be trained to effectively communicate achievement expectations which recognize the child's basic willingness to learn and discover, and not the disabling conditions of his background.
4. That the child's learning experiences at the outset involve extensive structuring or control, through various techniques and facilities, until self-maintenance of desirable learning behaviors become strongly evident.
5. That the child receive systematic training in attending to relevant stimulation in the learning situation and responding appropriately.

On the basis of findings reviewed in Chapters III and VI, it is suggested that strategies for teacher preparation and in-service training relevant to educating the disadvantaged child, reflect the tentative nature of what is known about the disadvantaged as well as the tentative nature of its possible applications. A flexible and efficient strategy would focus on the development of basic capabilities which form the essential components of a broad variety of systematic instructional and psychological techniques coordinated with the needs of children with different educational problems. Relevant capabilities include the following:

1. Ability to assess and interpret measures of fundamental abilities and skills relevant to learning (e.g., specific learning abilities, basic learning abilities).
2. Ability to select and apply basic teaching strategies which reflect recognition of learning capacities or abilities of various types and levels, and which are coordinated with strategies for the measurement of abilities (e.g., associative learning, concept learning).
3. Ability to systematically apply a variety of reinforcement strategies, utilizing different kinds of schedules and different types of reinforcers (concrete, abstract) under appropriate conditions.

4. Ability to apply specific training techniques in a variety of areas where intellectual and educational deficits are most severe among the disadvantaged (e.g., language training, reasoning).
5. Ability to manipulate affective tone in intergroup processes to achieve desired results.
6. Ability to create instructional materials to meet the specific learning requirements of individual children.
7. Ability to train children in certain behaviors and attitudes which support the process of learning, such as "attending to the task."
8. Ability to apply quasi-therapeutic procedures designed to circumvent or replace maladaptive defensive and other responses which interfere with efficient learning.

Creating the Basis for the Effective Integrated School

Consideration of the research and the experiences of others relating to the process of school integration suggest five sets of interrelated conditions which may enhance the effectiveness of the integrated school:

1. Since the student's social status in the classroom seems to affect his level of academic success and vice-versa (i.e., it is a circular process), *a major effort should be mounted to insure early and continuing success in the academic area*. The application of certain approaches and programs

designed to make up for learning difficulties may be necessary to the academic success of the desegregated Negro student.

2. Academic efforts by themselves do not take full advantage of the potential of the integrated school for positive educational and social change and may even fail in an atmosphere of possible interracial conflict. Specific attention must therefore be paid to the minority student's own capabilities and tendencies in social interactions with whites as well as to the typical social responses and tendencies of whites in the interracial situation.

3. Studies indicate that the classroom teacher typically exerts a major influence on the social status of students. Such influence is frequently exerted in relation to conforming, class-linked behavior, student responses and other behaviors indicative of achievement, sex of student and students' racial status (Chesler, 1969). These forms of influence are rapidly communicated to the peer group, who, in turn, reject the "offender."

   This pattern of teacher-peer group rejection is more likely to be experienced by the typical Negro child, and thus, specific steps must be taken to train teachers to respond appropriately in the classroom.

4. Research shows that parents exert a powerful and continuing effect upon their children's manifestations of racial attitudes in the classroom. Special efforts to create racial harmony in the school setting may thus fail or prove only partially effective if steps are not taken to develop substantial community support and participation in the school program. Special efforts should therefore be made to expand the integrated school into a community center and involve parents of both racial groups in the process of integration.
5. The introduction of Black history, culture and special studies into the curriculum appears to be an important basis for improving interracial understanding. Careful and fair attention should be given to minority group contributions at all levels of the curriculum, and special courses relating to the issue of cultural pluralism might be appropriately included in the school program.

Experience further indicates that the effective integrated school requires a degree of flexibility which will necessitate basic changes in structure and organization. Structural flexibility that would meet the diverse needs of children in the integrated school appears to be possible through implementation of the continuous learning year. The main feature of the continuous learning year allow the adoption of educational practices which are relevant to individual learning needs, and--of greater practical significance--allow more time for special educational programs without removing the child from participation in the regular school program. Further than this, the findings of this study suggest that teachers in the integrated school should receive special training relating to intergroup progresses. Some relevant training experiences might include:

a. Experiences directly illustrating typical interaction patterns of teachers which represent the application of negative class- and caste-linked attitudes. These experiences would further incorporate direct practice in social responses which imply positive recognition of behavioral differences associated with variations in sociocultural background.

b. Practices in managing patterns of interracial interaction which would focus on historical, cultural, economic and attitudinal differences associated with race and class status.

c. Practice in the application of techniques which would allay the stress value of certain elements of the learning situation, e.g., test-taking, verbal participation in classroom activities and the experience of difficulty with traditional learning materials and approaches.

d. Practice in the utilization of principles based in social psychological research which relate to changing intergroup attitudes. One of the prime examples proceeds from the work of Sherif (1958) which showed that intergroup attitudes may be changed when alienated groups pursued activities which involved the achievement of a common goal.

e. Knowledge of Negro history, social problems, individual and group differences relating to success in American society, and an understanding of current forces of social unrest.

Suggested procedures for obtaining adequate community support in the school integration program include (paraphrased from Sullivan and Stewart, 1969, pp. 198-202):

1. Encouraging minority groups, particularly the poor, to take the initiative, speak out and become leaders.
2. Involving all civic, university, church, business, service groups and minority organizations, including the Black Power leaders.
3. Involving parents at all steps of the process, particularly minority parents.
4. Continually informing the public of progress made and of plans for the future.
5. Providing intergroup education in inservice units and seminars for the public.
6. Scheduling social events, picnics and weekend retreats for both Negro and white parents.
7. Involving students, parents and teachers in interracial workshops, meetings and neighborhood discussions.
8. Integrating after-school recreational programs.

Recommendations for Research and Program Development

It is evident that many basic questions relating to the causes of inadequate educational development among disadvantaged children and to the process of school integration remain unanswered. Basic to improving the educational lot of disadvantaged children is an increase in the effort to discover the sources of inadequacy in family background factors and in efforts to systematically create effective educational programs. Evaluation of previous efforts to develop more effective educational programs indicates only a small payoff and relatively slight effects on the quality of school programs. The major sources of inadequacy in the development of effective educational programs for the disadvantaged appear to include the following: (1) local control over program formulation and implementation has proved inefficient and largely ineffective; (2) the efforts and contributions of programs, initiated by investigators independently of public school leadership have had relatively little impact on school practice for a variety of methodological reasons; (3) the present informal structure for getting into the hands of public school personnel the results of significant new research and development activities is totally inadequate to the task at hand; and (4) the entire process of decision making relating to the allocation of funds for research and development activities relevant to effective change in the disadvantaged school generally fails to relate to the available body of systematic knowledge of the educational process. If these assumptions are valid, it is then difficult to conceive of any significant changes occurring in the context of the disadvantaged urban school as long as the present decision-making structure remains intact.

To rectify these resources of inadequacy, it is proposed that research and program efforts designed to upgrade the disadvantaged school be assigned to special centers which would serve the state educational agency, the schools and the community in a designated area. Operating and development costs would be derived from a pooling of portions of State and Federal funds normally devoted to such activities as compensatory education and innovation (perhaps 10 or 15 percent). A series of such centers would operate primarily within and around the urban centers of a single state or region in a fashion similar to the Federally supported regional educational laboratories, but would be further centralized to insure comparability among certain elements of program activity (e.g., evaluation techniques).

The bulk of state and Federal funds, intended for compensatory education and related efforts and normally apportioned to the local education agency (LEA), would still be received by the public schools. However, the expenditures of these funds would be controlled or channelled in such a way that a significant portion would be used to support specific programs generated by the intervention center for implementation in the schools (excluding any program funds which are intended to render additional general aid to urban and other districts.)

The centers' program activities would be ideally founded on the basis of a careful analysis of the available information from prior research and development activities (e.g., "state of the art reports"), and would further reflect the knowledge and leadership of the State educational agency and the LEA, and the broad social and educational needs of the communities served by the center.

The primary activities of the center would include:

1. Interpret further the findings of significant state of the art reports and other relevant research efforts to local school staff.
2. Plan, with school district staff, the implementation of research findings in the local setting.
3. Assist local school district staff in the implementation process itself by bringing to bear the specialized knowledge of the social and behavioral sciences on a continuing basis.
4. Provide for more adequate validation of promising new programs through cooperative efforts with several school districts, thereby establishing an adequate basis for generalization of findings to other educational settings.
5. Provide the leadership and resources for broad dissemination and demonstration of relevant research findings and successful program developments.
6. Develop, for implementation by other agencies, guidelines and other resources which present detailed plans and requirements for new staff training programs, such

as teaching specialists and teacher aides.

7. Provide a fertile field for the systematic training of school personnel in realistic situations, in cooperation with institutions of higher education.
8. Provide the resources for continuing supervision and adjustment of new programs implemented in the schools.
9. Provide the independent leadership necessary to involve other relevant agencies (e.g., social welfare agencies, foundation support, other Federal programs) in a concerted and experimental attack on social problems which grossly affect the lives of disadvantaged children, some of which cannot be easily or effectively circumvented by efforts in the school context alone.

The foregoing proposals represent only one set of alternatives for organizational change designed to effect the ways in which intervention research is conceived and conducted and in the ways in which it is implemented in the schools. Serious consideration of such alternative appears to be required if the pace of positive change in the education of disadvantaged children is to achieve even a low correlation with the need for such change.

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APPENDIX A

1784

A Position Paper...
...No. 1 of a series

URBAN
EDUCATION

A Statement of Policy
and Proposed Action
by the
REGENTS OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK

THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
ALBANY
November 1967

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Regents of the University ***(with years when terms expire)***

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President of the University and Commissioner of Education
JAMES E. ALLEN, JR.

Deputy Commissioner of Education
EWALD B. NYQUIST

FOREWORD

To assist in planning for the future development of education in New York State, the Board of Regents is preparing a series of position papers on major educational issues confronting the State. The following presentation, the first in this series, deals with the special needs and problems of education in our heavily populated urban areas. It not only draws the problems into sharp focus, but it proposes a course of action and contains recommendations for proposed legislation to be considered by the Legislature in 1968.

In considering their recommendations, the Regents and the State Education Department have had the benefit of the Governor's publicly announced 21-point program for dealing with the "urban crisis" in New York State. We believe our recommendations are responsive to his expressed concern and consistent with his program for broad State action.

Education in urban areas is an urgent issue which vitally concerns all the citizens of our State, no matter where they live. It is hoped, therefore, that the Regents program will receive favorable consideration and support by the Governor, the Legislature, and the public at large.

James E. Allen, Jr.
Commissioner of Education

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INTRODUCTION

The major problem of education in New York State today lies in our cities. The recent series of riots, boycotts and strikes has forced us to realize that no excuse can justify delay of a concerted effort to reform urban education. No task is more difficult or essential; no issue forces us more seriously to adjust traditional policy and practice to new thought and action.

We must understand these six factors of the problem:

—The great size of population in the cities has resulted in systems of central educational control that are remote and too complex to be responsive to community and neighborhood needs.

—The preceding point is especially compounded today because the population turnover in the last two decades has resulted in an urban concentration of minority population groups which are blocked by barriers of race and language from full participation in the social, political, economic and educational life of the cities. This condition has spurred growing distrust for the established order and institutions of education.

—The proportion of non-white population in the cities, and especially in the public schools of the cities, is increasing. Racial isolation in the schools is also increasing. Continuation or expansion of this isolation will perpetuate under-achievement for large portions of the non-white population and will impair the development of sound attitudes and understanding among the races.

—Cities have disproportionately high concentration of lower class population, both white and non-white. Education of persons in this class *in isolation* yields inferior results. To have equal opportunity, they must be educated in schools with predominantly middle-class populations. In some city school districts, the proportion of middle-class population in the public schools has declined to the extent that achieving desirable pupil assignment within the city is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

—The increasing use of violence as a means toward political ends portends the terrifying prospect that ghetto populations may believe firebombs, bricks, and gunshot are the only message which the majority will heed. There are in the ghettos forces that will disintegrate society and fracture all rapport among the races unless they can be redirected.

—The loss of economic strength of the cities, heavy demands for safety, welfare and other city services on the tax dollar — the " municipal over-burden " — and restrictions of State legalities constitute a debilitating burden on the cities' capacity to finance necessary educational services.

The complexity of these factors and the magnitude of the problem leads to this statement of the Regents position on urban education.

POSITION OF THE REGENTS

The Regents now direct the State Education Department to develop a strategy for the revitalization of urban school systems. The central task is to reorganize and rebuild the urban school systems of the State in accordance with master plans to be prepared for each major city and its metropolitan area. In the same way that the State focused its resources and public attention upon the problems of rural education in the 1930's, it is now imperative to direct our resources to the improvement of urban education.

We must candidly state at the outset that a comparison of steps we might like to take and the steps that we can take may seem incompatible. Our objective is to place our educational institutions in the vanguard of developing and sustaining equal opportunity for all in a racially and socially integrated society. The means toward that goal will often appear inconsistent. For example, in one case in order to enable students from varied backgrounds to learn together, the boundaries of school administrative units need to be expanded to serve greater population. In another case, in order to strengthen parent interest in education and the sense of community and neighborhood participation in education, boundaries might have to be contracted. In some cases, both are necessary and the solutions self-contradictory.

We struggle with this and other paradoxes posed by alternative paths toward the goal. We plead for a tolerance of flexible and alternative means and suggest that the steps to be taken will vary from one district or part of the State to another according to the dimension of the problem. We must have a vision of an optimal solution, but we must not lose sight of the critical need to improve the education of all students in their present circumstance.

The Regents support the following principles as basic to constructive action:

Principles for Action Program:

> *Education is a State Function.* Primary responsibility for the creation and maintenance of an environment which is conducive to urban and metropolitan school development rests with the State. While acknowledging realistic and appropriate Federal responsibilities on the one hand and different but equally important local responsibilities and concerns on the other, it is the position of the Regents that the State must take the lead in shaping and preserving the balance of the multi-level efforts.
>
> *Intergovernmental Planning and Coordination.* The Regents submit that the efforts of the several departments of State gov-

ernment concerned with urban problems need to be related more effectively to each other horizontally and to other agencies of government vertically, Federal and local. Unilateral action by any agency of State government in dealing with the problems of large cities or metropolitan areas is likely to be unfruitful. The Regents pledge their support to an acceleration in intergovernmental planning and coordination.

In the development of the following program for urban education, the Regents propose close coordination at the three major governmental levels. Specifically, this means working at the local level with education agencies, anti-poverty agencies, health and welfare offices and offices of general government, with colleges and universities in the cities, especially The City University of New York; at the State level working especially with the Office of Planning Coordination, the Departments of Health, Labor and Social Services and the State University; at the Federal level with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (especially the Model Cities Program and the Neighborhood Services Center Program), with the Federal Executive Boards of the Civil Service Commission, with the Office of Economic Opportunity, and with the several offices of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Metropolitan Planning. The Regents believe that planning for improved urban education must not be bound by the limits of current city or school district boundaries. The Regents suggest, indeed, that many of the problems of urban life may be inherent in political structures which have become obsolete, and that solutions to emerging problems may be found through the creation of new administrative and fiscal arrangements for metropolitan educational services. Of basic importance for providing flexibility to realize such arrangements is the modification of present constitutional debt and tax limitations on the major cities.

The Quality of Education in the Cities. Urban schools must offer a quality of program to all city children equivalent to that available in neighboring suburbs. The schools must be of such calibre to encourage middle-class families to remain in the cities or be attracted to them. The improvement of city school quality is thus a part of the Regents overall objective to eliminate racial and social segregation from the schools.

These principles set our sights on broad objectives and long-range plans for the cities and their metropolitan areas. At a later point, we will make a specific proposal to begin developing such plans. Other action of the Regents and the State Education Department need not, however, wait upon completion of that process. Certain steps must be taken now to implement the best short-range remedies we can develop for the problem described earlier and in anticipation of long-range plans to come. These steps should be directed by the following guidelines.

Guidelines for Action Programs:

A specific program for immediate action will be proposed later in this statement. This program is derived from the foregoing principles and the following seven guidelines.

—The overreaching purpose of the State program is to assist local authorities in providing all persons in urban areas with full equality of educational opportunity in an integrated social and racial context.

—Strong emphasis must be placed upon neighborhood or community participation within the cities in the governance of educational programs.

—New expenditures should be directed especially toward expanding projects that have demonstrated successful performance.

—Programs for education must be painstakingly coordinated with the services of other public and private agencies — local, State and Federal — so that the children and adults participate as complete beings who have inter-related needs of health, welfare, employment, housing, recreation and education.

—Educational projects for the educationally poor must have sufficient concentration of resources to assure that substantial improvements in performance will be attained. Projects must be designed so that the combination of efforts will produce the " critical mass " effect necessary to generate results that several component parts could not produce separately.

—Technical and professional personnel of the communities served, of colleges and universities and of private industries, institutions and associations must be recruited and their talents joined with those of public officials in assistance to local and neighborhood agencies for planning and implementation of education projects. The resources of all colleges and universities, wherever located, must be marshalled especially for direct assistance in operating projects and training personnel.

—The most pressing problem with respect to improving urban education is the preparation of personnel to serve the educationally poor. Ways must be found to direct the efforts of a large share of our most talented personnel already in education to meeting their needs. Of great importance, in addition, is the identification and training of indigenous talent to serve in professional and paraprofessional roles in their own or similar communities. These persons know the problems of the disadvantaged and have the background helpful for engaging them in learning. This is a largely-neglected source of talent which must be developed in order that the overall demand for qualified personnel can be satisfied.

Present and New Program Directions:

The Regents' and the State Education Department's current efforts for education in the urban areas include a variety of advisory, cooperative and financial aids. They are not described in detail here, but brief reference will serve to set the perspective.

Of basic importance is the provision of State financial aid for the elementary and secondary schools. Because of increases in school costs throughout the State, the Regents recommend this year an overall increase in State aid by raising the ceiling, thereby providing additional financial aid to the cities as well as all other areas. (This recommendation will be described in greater detail in forthcoming legislative proposals on State Financial Aid.) The Department has also an on-going program for direct assistance to local school districts for planning and implementing integration projects which is of particular importance to the urban areas. The Regents recommend an increase in expenditures for this program next year. (This recommendation is described in detail in a forthcoming statement on Integration.) There are, furthermore, a variety of special or categorical aids that supplement these programs. These aids are described in a publication of the State Education Department, soon to be released, *Programs for Progress.*

The State has done much for the urban areas, but must do more in new directions. Therefore, the Regents propose *three new programs* for State action in assistance of urban education: first, a program for Quality Incentive Grants for Urban Education, to provide coordinated and concentrated educational services in the cities, especially for the most disadvantaged youth and adults; second, establishment of a new program for recruitment and training of teaching personnel for the cities, including The Urban Teacher Corps; third, a program for planning grants and demonstration projects for the large urban areas.

QUALITY INCENTIVE GRANTS FOR URBAN EDUCATION

The major new direction proposed is a program for Quality Incentive Grants for Urban Education. This program will provide coordinated and concentrated educational services to youth and adults in those parts of the State where there are high concentrations of population with low educational attainment. The Regents recommend that $100,000,000 be appropriated for such grants in 1968–69 to be allotted among selected school districts of the State, according to the extent of their need as determined by a formula based on the number of pupils with reading competence below average, the number of ADC children or some similar measurement device.

One-half of the funds appropriated are to be used by the local districts as they determine their particular needs for improving the quality of education throughout the district. The remaining funds, approximately $50,000,000, are to be used by the local districts in programs for the educationally poor in accord with the district's " plan for quality incentive programs." This plan will be developed cooperatively by the district and the State Education Department, and be subject to Department approval. High priority in the development of the plan will be placed upon the degree to which various Federal, State and local programs are coordinated to provide concentrated service to the participants in the target community area.

Approximately one-half of each district's funds under the "plan for quality incentive programs " shall be used for projects related to development and operation of " community education centers." The remaining part shall be used primarily for operation of programs directly related to the regular elementary and secondary school program. These two major uses are described further.

Community Education Centers ($25,000,000 for 1968-69)

Community education centers are proposed to establish focal points for providing educational and other related services in disadvantaged areas within the school districts. These centers will coordinate and plan for the community, as well as operate certain programs. The program of each center, to be determined in large part by community representatives, will provide a means by which needs of employment, health, recreation, counseling, family services and education *for all age groups of the community* might be met either through direct aid at the center or by coordinated referral. Each center will provide projects closely related and supplementary to regular elementary and secondary schooling; projects for youths; projects aiding those enrolled in higher education; and projects for adults. Through such centers, the wide ranges of local, State and Federal government programs and private programs can be coordinated *from the point of view of the participants,* and new projects can be developed for their specific interests.

Community education centers would initially be established in existing school structures or other community facilities. All steps would be taken to assure maximum use of existing resources, public or private, for operation of various projects. Centers should be in operation throughout the year and perhaps around the clock — especially after school, evenings, weekends and summers.

Community education center plans will be developed with the participation of center boards of parents and community leaders, local and State officials. Each center plan will become part of the district plan for quality incentive grants. Funds for operation of projects under approved center plans will be granted through the local education agency to the center.

The task in the coming year is to establish a number of community education centers with appropriate boards of parents and community leaders to participate in their policy planning. At the outset, each board must have staff and funds to develop a profile of the community's educational needs. To assist these boards in determining working procedures and preparing center plans, technical assistance teams of public officials and private agencies must be recruited and supported. In many cases, centers can be developed in time for handling the operation of some programs within the first year.

A wide variety of educational as well as other projects might be undertaken by the centers. Education projects might range from adult literacy training to development of residential educational projects for children. Illustrations of projects that might be undertaken are these: for pre-school children — nursery school projects; for in-school youth — student tutoring, after-school and summer classes supplementing regular school work, pupil personnel services in health, nutrition; for adults — training for child care, job retraining, recreation and hobby programs; for all persons in the community — learning diagnostic services, neighborhood library centers, projects in the performing arts.

Each community will have its own priorities. The great advantage of the center will be to provide a focal point at which these priorities can be set and the several projects serving all age groups of the community coordinated and concentrated.

Other Quality Incentive Projects ($25,000,000 for 1968-69)

The remaining half of each district plan shall include projects determined to be of greatest promise for promoting quality of education for disadvantaged children at the pre-kindergarten, elementary and secondary school levels. Such projects would not necessarily be operated through the community education centers, but they might be.

A variety of projects would be funded according to the district's needs. Certain projects now operated with State funds would be incorporated into this program for quality incentive grants and continuation and expansion of these projects would have high priorty in the plans. The present State programs to be incorporated are the Pre-kindergarten Program, Project ABLE, Project STEP and Adult Basic Education. Projects for summer residential education camps and campuses and work-study for students in occupational education would also have high priority. (A description of these several types of projects is found in Appendix A of this paper.) Other projects suitable to a particular community would be eligible, of course.

The overall proposal for Quality Incentive Grants for Urban Education, including the grants to be used in any part of a district and those specifically to aid the educationally poor through Community Education Centers and other projects, therefore, would provide a means to place State aid at the points of greatest educational need and to provide for coordinated local, State and Federal planning to assure the most effective use of the funds.

URBAN TEACHER RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

New York Urban Teacher Corps

The second proposal would establish a new program to recruit, train and place teachers and auxiliary personnel in disadvantaged urban areas. This program is not intended to replace current practices in teacher training but to supplement them, giving high priority to seeking out personnel indigenous to disadvantaged areas for teaching in such areas. These talents must be developed for three reasons: first, reinforcement of the drive for self-help in these areas; second, promotion of achievement in schools because common background and understandings will enhance rapport between learner and teacher; and third, stimulation of general community concern for community development through education. Initial effort in 1968–69 should reach at least 1,500 persons. In addition to providing internships and pre-internships for prospective teachers, this program would provide for training of mothers and other local adults to assist in paraprofessional roles from pre-kindergarten through high school. The Regents recommend that $9,000,000 be appropriated for 1968–69 to establish this Urban Teacher Corps. The program will have three emphases:

Internships for College Graduates

Recent college graduates, principally those without teacher training, will be recruited to attend intensive summer workshops in preparation for service in schools in the following fall. Some will prepare for partnership teaching arrangements developed under the State Education Department's Teachers Reserve Program. The training program will be run by a university; the instructional personnel will include master teachers from the schools where the interns will serve. The master teachers will also take part in a concurrent summer workshop to improve supervisory skills. Beginning interns will both teach and study in their first year. Master teachers will supervise four to five interns and will have no direct classroom responsibilities.

Pre-Internship for College Students

During the early undergraduate years, college students would be introduced to an understanding of teaching through such activities as tutoring individual students and helping in formal classroom settings. In their junior and senior years, students preparing to teach in slum schools would have paid pre-internships under the supervision of cooperating teachers trained for the task. These students would be placed in teaching assignments after graduation.

Community Personnel in Auxiliary Teaching Services

Many persons in disadvantaged areas who are unemployed or under-employed can provide paraprofessional assistance in the schools if identified and trained. Provisions will be made to recruit these persons from depressed urban areas, give them initial paraprofessional training and then assist those qualified to move up the career ladder to full professional service while engaged in the schools as auxiliary personnel.

Language Development Training for Teachers

Also of high priority in teacher training is the need to prepare more persons with the language skills that will equip them to work effectively with disadvantaged children. The Regents recommend a program to provide assistance to local education agencies and to institutions of higher education to train teachers in language development. Large cities in the State of New York have great numbers of children whose home language is either not English or else is such a distinct dialect of English that, in effect, it is a second language to the teacher. These children very often are found in the slum or ghetto areas of the cities, and therefore suffer double deprivation in overcoming both the handicaps of poverty and the handicaps of a teacher's language foreign to their understanding. The program would provide grants to local education agencies and/or institutions of higher education to provide special materials for these children and to train teachers, both pre-service and in-service, to master techniques in teaching children of other linguistic backgrounds.

Grants could be made to expand present programs which are operating as demonstration or pilot programs or to design and implement new programs. The Regents recommend an appropriation of $1,000,000 in 1968–69 for this purpose.

To meet the critical need for more teachers and better trained teachers in the urban areas, then, the Regents recommend the establishment of a New York Urban Teacher Corps and a program for Language Development Training for Teachers at a total estimated cost of $10,000,000 for 1968–69.

PLANNING GRANTS, DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS AND EVALUATION

Simultaneous with the initiation of new programs for teacher recruitment and training and quality incentive grants for urban education, the Regents propose appropriation of some $2,000,000 in 1968–69 for planning grants and demonstration projects. It is essential that, in addition to immediate programs, the long-range direction for State and local action be developed. The Regents propose, therefore, to begin next year to finance development of a master plan for education in each of the major metropolitan areas of the State. These plans will be developed cooperatively by the officials of the school districts and of the State, with the help of qualified private or public planning agencies.

In addition to these planning projects, demonstration projects on structural arrangements for administering education should also be launched. These include projects for cooperative arrangements among city and suburban school systems and projects for new policy and administrative arrangements within large districts which would decentralize control either by creating satellite school boards or, perhaps, special purpose districts within a city. For these purposes, grants to local school districts will be made.

The kind of planning, demonstration projects and evaluation programs described here will require a highly sophisticated and systematic effort. The burden rests in large part on the State. To meet its responsibilities, the resources of the State Education Department must be strengthened so that it can effectively marshal the forces of the Federal government, the " new education industries," the academics, and community leaders to plan what must be achieved and how best it can be accomplished in urban education.

We must be frank to state that new efforts will be of a pilot and limited nature — limited in the numbers immediately reached because of a lack of resources and limited by our ignorance of just which operational steps will have the most impact. Because of these limits, great stock must be placed in very careful evaluation of these ventures. Each new program must, in turn, be considered as a potential model for widespread future funding as well as a contribution in itself. We must be as careful in testing what is done as in doing it. There will be little evidence of instant success.

SUMMATION

The cities have high concentrations of children who are the most difficult and costliest to educate. Evidence is all too abundant that they are not being adequately educated and that major reforms of city education are in order. In accord with State responsibilities, the Regents recommend that the Governor and Legislature approve three major steps toward improving urban education:

1. The development of long-range plans for education for each large city and its metropolitan area *and* the support of demonstration projects for new structural arrangements for education within cities and between cities and suburbs. Estimated cost for 1968–69, $2,000,000.
2. Initiation of a program of Quality Incentive Grants for Urban Education to provide coordinated and concentrated educational projects in urban districts. These projects would especially help the educationally poor. Estimated cost for 1968–69, $100,000,000.
3. Initiation of a New York Urban Teacher Corps for recruiting and training personnel, especially those indigenous to disadvantaged areas, for teaching in such areas. Estimated cost in 1968–69, approximately $10,000,000.

The Regents hereby approve a new direction of the resources of the State Education Department to solving the problems of urban education. Every aspect of the urban school system, from teacher recruitment and preparation to parent participation and school-community relations, must be open to a tradition-free consideration of the relevance of present policies and practices to today's circumstances. No area of our responsibility will receive greater attention than providing equal opportunity and increasing educational quality for all people of our cities.

URBAN EDUCATION

APPENDIX A

Examples of Continuing and New Programs To Be Funded Through Quality Incentive Grants to Urban Areas

Pre-Kindergarten Program

The Present Status — The State budget for 1966–67 included a $5,000,000 appropriation to the State Education Department for grants to enable local school boards to demonstrate quality pre-kindergarten programs for three- and four-year-old children in disadvantaged areas. The appropriation was also to enable the State Education Department to study the effectiveness of such programs and the problems connected with educating young children and with parent involvement in these programs. From the beginning, it was planned that the programs would have stronger leadership from the Department and that, in addition to the pilot programs through the State, a few Demonstration Centers would be selected in strategic areas of the State to provide exemplary programs for school staff members to observe and emulate.

By the end of the first year, in June 1967, thirty-nine school districts were conducting pre-kindergartens for 12,651 children in disadvantaged areas, including 10,000 in New York City which received Federal as well as State funds. The thirty-nine school districts included only three of the Big Six cities. The other three did not apply to the Commissioner of Education for a pre-kindergarten program principally because of the lack of funds for the city share of the program. In certain cases, these large cities had pre-kindergarten programs funded by Head Start or the Elementary and Secondary Education Act under more liberal financial circumstances.

Following another appropriation of $5,000,000 for 1967–68, by September 1, 1967, forty school districts had received approval to operate pre-kindergartens during 1967–68 for 12,701 children at a total local and State cost of $6,242,000. Thirty-six of these are continuing programs. Some of the forty school districts have been able to apply only because they are Demonstration Centers where funding is 100 percent for budget items which apply to demonstration aspects. There have been no new applications from the Big Six cities.

Funds and Legislation Needed — If any of the Bix Six cities and other urban areas not now in the program are to open the doors to three- and four-year-old children in disadvantaged areas, it is essential that funds for this program be increased. In addition, State funds should be made available to develop special programs to follow those children who have had pre-kindergarten through kindergarten and first grade. Programs similar to the limited efforts initiated by the U.S. Office of Education for pilot kindergarten follow-throughs in Rochester and New York City should be established. An estimated $10,000,000 is needed for 1968–69 for expansion of the pre-kindergarten program and for a State funded follow-through in kindergarten and first grade.

Student Aid for the Academically Talented

Project ABLE provides demonstration projects to develop, test and disseminate practices for identifying and giving special help for capable pupils from culturally disadvantaged or low socio-economic backgrounds. Twenty-nine school districts are participating in 1967–68 with local funds which at least match the allocated State funds. About 14,000 pupils are involved.

State funds for 1967–68 amount to $500,000. The legislation should be amended to substitute a provision for flexibility of matching for the present 50–50 matching. Under present conditions, many school districts, especially the larger cities, find it impossible to contribute one-half of the cost of what might be a significant ABLE project and, therefore, receive no State funds. With flexibility in matching so that new districts could establish ABLE projects and with expansion of existing projects, the estimated cost of ABLE in 1968–69 would be $3,000,000.

SEEK Programs — Existing programs identify talented but educationally disadvantaged youngsters and encourage them to attend college. The projects now in New York City and Buffalo operated by City University and State University should be continued and expanded, and, in addition, new programs should be funded in other urban areas. During 1968–69, first priority should be given to the establishment of SEEK Programs through the State Education Department to be located in Rochester, Syracuse and Albany. Also during 1968–69, plans should be developed to establish SEEK Programs in Newburgh-Poughkeepsie-Kingston, Suffolk County and Utica. The New York City SEEK Program was originally funded for $1,000,000; Buffalo SEEK was funded for $500,000. The latter sum is a minimal amount which can accommodate approximately

250 students for the first year and a small number of additional students thereafter. The three new programs should initially be funded for $500,000 per year so that the total needed for 1968–69 is $3,000,000, of which $1,500,000 would be in the State Education Department budget.

School-to-Employment Program (STEP)

The School-to-Employment Program (STEP) is a part-time school, part-time work program for potential dropouts of at least 15 years of age. Its two goals are to assist potential dropouts to remain in school and graduate, or if they do decide to leave, to assist them to find satisfactory full-time employment.

In 1967–68, thirty-four school districts are participating, with some 1,200 pupils in more than 50 STEP units. The program has proven very effective in getting to and providing for the needs of a hard-core, potentially unemployable group. It has proven to be a relatively short-term, inexpensive program of reorientation to school and work.

The State funds allotted for 1967–68 amount to $500,000. In 1968–69, the legislation should be amended to delete the 50–50 matching requirement and to substitute a provision for flexibility of matching. Under present conditions, many school districts, especially the larger cities, find it impossible to contribute one-half of the cost of what might be a significant STEP project. With this flexibility in matching so that new districts could establish projects and with the addition of some new approaches such as the development of summer programs and more emphasis on vocational guidance — the estimated cost for STEP projects in 1968–69 is $5,000,000.

Summer Educational Camps and Campuses for Urban Youth

Through this proposal, the State of New York would make available summer residential educational camps and campuses for urban youth. Youngsters from the urban areas would be brought together with those from suburban or rural areas for combined recreational and educational experiences. Existing facilities, especially on college campuses, would be used for this program.

A residential camp or campus could provide numerous unprecedented opportunities for urban students to discover and learn many subjects such as astronomy, geology, horticulture and agriculture in realistic, interesting, unique and memorable ways. Elementary and advanced mathematics could be learned by activities such as marking athletic fields, computing distance hiked and measuring shadows of objects such as trees. Reading, writing, spelling and other basic educational subjects are implicit and explicit considerations in all of the activities enumerated, all to take place in an integrated environment apart from the pressures of the ghettos.

To date, some projects such as the *Programs To Excite Potential* have made very effective use of campus facilities and teaching personnel during summer months. For next summer, some $5,000,000 should be used to make such camps available for urban youth throughout the State.

Work-Study for Students in Occupational Education

In fiscal 1965–66, the first full year of operation, some $3,000,000 in stipends, principally from Federal funds, were paid to vocational students for part-time jobs in public agencies. The amount accommodated approximately 76 percent of the funds requested by local education agencies. At the moment, Federal funding of this program is in doubt. If Federal funds are available, they will probably not exceed $827,000. In that case, a State appropriation of at least $2,000,000 would approach meeting three-fourths of the need. Without Federal funding, a State funding of nearly $3,000,000 would be necessary, yet be considerably less than local requests. For 1968–69, the estimate of State assistance is $2,000,000.

APPENDIX B

1784

A Position Paper . . .
. . . No. 3 of a series

INTEGRATION
and the
SCHOOLS

A Statement of Policy
and Recommendations
by the
REGENTS OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK

THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Albany
January 1968

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Regents of the University *(with years when terms expire)*

1968 Edgar W. Couper, A.B., LL.D., L.H.D., *Chancellor* - - Binghamton
1970 Everett J. Penny, B.C.S., D.C.S., *Vice Chancellor* - - White Plains
1978 Alexander J. Allan, Jr., LL.D., Litt.D. - - - - - - - Troy
1973 Charles W. Millard, Jr., A.B., LL.D. - - - - - - - Buffalo
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1974 Joseph C. Indelicato, M.D. - - - - - - - - - - - - Brooklyn
1976 Mrs. Helen B. Power, A.B., Litt.D. - - - - - - - - Rochester
1979 Francis W. McGinley, B.S., LL.B. - - - - - - - - Glens Falls
1981 George D. Weinstein, LL.B. - - - - - - - - - - - Hempstead
1980 Max J. Rubin, LL.B., L.H.D. - - - - - - - - - - - New York
1971 Kenneth B. Clark, A.B., M.S., Ph.D. . . . - - - - - Hastings on Hudson
1982 Stephen K. Bailey, A.B., B.A., M.A., Ph.D., LL.D. - - Syracuse

President of the University and Commissioner of Education
James E. Allen, Jr.

Deputy Commissioner of Education
Ewald B. Nyquist

FOREWORD

A fundamental responsibility of government is to establish and maintain from generation to generation the broad conditions under which the education of free men may be carried on. State government which is legally responsible for the provision of educational opportunity has a special obligation in this regard.

Equality of educational opportunity is being denied to large numbers of boys and girls — white as well as Negro and other minority group children — because of racially segregated schools. This condition must not be tolerated in a democratic society. Effective solutions must be found even if they require major changes in the established assumptions, organizations and boundaries that are a part of our present educational system.

This statement of policy by the Regents, the third of a series, is a reaffirmation of their determination to see that segregation in education is eliminated, and that the conditions under which each individual may grow in self-respect, respect for others, and in the attainment of his full potential, shall exist everywhere in the State.

I join the Regents in calling upon school board members, administrators, teachers, and all other citizens to read this statement carefully, to be guided by the principles set forth, and to support its recommendations.

James E. Allen, Jr.
Commissioner of Education

January 1968

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COMMITMENT

The elimination of racial prejudice, discrimination, and injustice is the great moral and social imperative of our time.

The most powerful and effective means of achieving this objective is education.

Convinced of the truth of these statements, and aware of the extent of *de facto* segregation in the State's school system and of the growing racial tensions in many communities, the Regents unanimously adopted, in 1960, a statement of policy which declared:

> *Modern psychological knowledge indicates that schools enrolling students largely of homogenous ethnic origin may damage the personality of minority group children. Such schools decrease their motivation and thus impair the ability to learn. Public education in such a setting is socially unrealistic, blocks the attainment of the goals of democratic education and is wasteful of manpower and talent, whether this situation occurs by law or by fact . . . .*
>
> *The State of New York has long held the principle that equal educational opportunity for all children, without regard to differences in economic, national, religious, or racial background, is a manifestation of the vitality of our American democratic society and is essential to its continuation.*
>
> *All citizens (therefore) have the responsibility to reexamine the schools within their local systems in order to determine whether they conform to this standard so clearly seen to be the right of every child.*
>
> *. . . we (also) call upon all our citizens and their agencies of government and their civic organizations to take concrete steps to provide the social climate which will make it possible for us to increase the effectiveness of education. Only with this cooperation will we be able to provide that type of democratic education which will enable all children to contribute their understanding, knowledge, and skills to increase the greatness of our State and our Nation.*

In the intervening years, the Regents have repeatedly reaffirmed this statement of policy and have supported the efforts of the Commissioner of Education and his staff in implementing it.

Now, in 1968, we not only again reaffirm our earlier policy, but reinforce our commitment with a call for more determined, more powerful, more energetic pursuit of the objectives set forth therein.

THE NEED FOR STRONGER ACTION

Current conditions of unrest, frustration, and violence show all too clearly that not only is the struggle against racial prejudice and injustice far from over, but that a perilous weakening has taken place in the foundation of understanding and mutual respect upon which true social justice and human progress can be built.

These conditions also dramatically point up the importance of education as the strength of this foundation — education that brings children together to grow up in natural, genuine understanding, and mutual respect, that produces responsible citizenship, that fosters behavior based on moral and spiritual values, that prepares for jobs, that creates the competence and instills the confidence for managing one's own life — education that does not mirror society's ills but provides a demonstration of the practicality, the workability of the principles of democracy, thus leading the way and setting the pattern for society to follow.

Education should aim to free individuals and society from the burdens and impediments caused by ignorance and irrationality. Racism is a manifestation of such ignorance and irrationality, and is inimical to the welfare of individuals and society. The Regents and all others in positions of educational leadership cannot, therefore, be satisfied to wait for other social, business, and political forces to remedy social ills but must take the initiative in overcoming the ignorance which is at the root of those ills. If we do not, we fail in our most essential duty.

Progress made

If education is considered the most effective means of overcoming prejudice and injustice, the question then becomes how successfully is it being used.

The answer to this question is not simple, because the success of education must be measured against the increasing magnitude and complexities of the task.

In implementation of the Regents policy, the State Education Department has been active in assessing the extent of racial imbalance and the progress in correcting it, providing special consultation and assistance on integration to the school districts, preparing curriculum materials and teaching guides for use in the schools, conducting seminars and workshops for teachers, administrators, and laymen, and in securing funds to aid communities in eliminating racial segregation and in preparing for integration.

School desegregation is an accomplished fact in a number of school systems in New York State. Moving quietly, several communities have integrated their schools. Others, with perhaps more difficult situations, have carefully formulated their long-range plans and are moving with determination to implement them. In most cases, the problem has been approached calmly and dispassionately, with the emphasis on improving the quality of education for *all* pupils.

Problem grows

Despite the determination and significant accomplishments of many in education, the growth of the problem has outstripped the efforts to deal with it:

- Racial imbalance *within* school districts is increasing in both suburban and urban communities: racial census reports show that between 1961 and 1966, in the 41 school districts with the highest percentage of Negro pupils (exclusive of New York City), the number of elementary schools with more than 50 percent Negro pupils increased from 60 to 72; the number with more than 90 percent Negro pupils increased from 25 to 33.
- Racial isolation *among* school districts is also increasing. In this same period, the percentage of Negro pupils in one suburban district rose to 82 and in another, to 71. In three other districts, the percentage surpassed 50.

Obstacles to progress

Underlying all the difficulties which have hindered progress in school desegregation is the basic question of attitude. The attitude of resistance and misunderstanding which prevails among many is a strong factor which seriously affects attempts to achieve in all aspects of society the integration essential to justice for minority groups and equality of opportunity for all.

Experience of the past 7 years has shown that this negative attitude expresses itself in such ways as the persistent assumption that the elimination of segregation is dependent upon and must wait for the elimination of discriminatory conditions in housing, employment and social customs; a persistent, but mistaken, belief that our educational obligation can be met merely by equal or superior facilities and staff in segregated schools; an unwillingness to depart from traditional concepts of school structure and organization even when they are no longer appropriate for current needs and conditions; a growing distrust of the established order and institutions of education among minority-group " moderates " arising from disillusionment over the efforts and intent of the white majority; the endorsement of separatist solutions by militant advocates of segregation — both black and white.

While the public educational authorities at all levels bear direct responsibility for leadership and action in the elimination of segregation, the problem is also the responsibility of every citizen — of government officials, civic leaders, leaders of ethnic and racial groups. The existence of segregation not only creates individual and group injustice, abhorrent to all who believe in the dignity of man and the equality of opportunity implicit in a democracy, but it also poses a threat to the economic, social, and cultural health of the community, State, and Nation. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that a positive attitude shall prevail and that, both as a practical matter and as a moral obligation, prompt action be taken to correct the situation wherever it exists.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The basic precept of all educational endeavor is that equality of educational opportunity to develop the full potential of his capabilities is the right of every individual, and that it is the responsibility of the State to see that this equality of opportunity is provided for all. With this as an overriding objective, we believe the following principles should guide the development of policies and plans for eliminating racial segregation in education and for achieving an integrated school system:

1. Segregation of children on the basis of race is harmful. This fact is well stated in the 1967 report of a nationwide investigation by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (p. 193, vol. 1):

> *The central truth which emerges from this report and from all of the Commission's investigations is simply this: Negro children suffer serious harm when their education takes place in public schools which are racially segregated, whatever the source of such segregation may be.*
>
> *Negro children who attend predominantly Negro schools do not achieve as well as other children, Negro and white. Their aspirations are more restricted than those of other children and they do not have as much confidence that they can influence their own futures. When they become adults, they are less likely to participate in the mainstream of American society, and more likely to fear, dislike, and avoid white Americans. The conclusion drawn by the U.S. Supreme Court about the impact upon children of segregation compelled by law — that it " affects their hearts and minds in ways unlikely ever to be undone " — applies to segregation not compelled by law.*
>
> *The major source of the harm which racial isolation inflicts upon Negro children is not difficult to discover. It lies in the attitudes which such segregation generates in children and the effect these attitudes have upon motivation to learn and achievement. Negro children believe that their schools are stigmatized*

> *and regarded as inferior by the community as a whole. Their belief is shared by their parents and by their teachers.* And their belief is founded in fact. [*Emphasis supplied*]
>
> *Isolation of Negroes in the schools has a significance different from the meaning that religious or ethnic separation may have had for other minority groups because the history of Negroes in the United States has been different from the history of all other minority groups. Negroes in this country were first enslaved, later segregated by law, and now are segregated and discriminated against by a combination of governmental and private action. They do not reside today in ghettos as the result of an exercise of free choice and the attendance of their children in racially isolated schools is not an accident of fate wholly unconnected with deliberate segregation and other forms of discrimination. In the light of this history, the feelings of stigma generated in Negro children by attendance at racially isolated schools are realistic and cannot easily be overcome.*

This last point was also emphasized in the report of the Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions which made a study of school segregation in New York City. *(Desegregating the Public Schools of New York City, May 12, 1964):*

> *Two reasons compel us to do our best to achieve well integrated schools. One is the moral imperative to assure all children true equality of opportunity. The other is the educational necessity to prepare every child to take his place in a world where no race may any longer live alone. The desegregation of the public schools..., therefore, means more than a better education for minority children. It means also a significant addition to the educative power of the schools for all children.*
>
> *To argue that no classroom can be good without a white child in it is inaccurate and cruel. But, it cannot be denied that a child who has learned from experience to understand and appreciate people of races other than his own has a sounder basis for both his education and his life.*

In forming their self-concepts, children are influenced by their experience of society's regard for the group with which they are identified. Thus, Negro children are likely to form lower opinions of themselves than their innate qualities warrant, and white children are likely to ascribe to themselves attributes that reflect more their favored position in our society than their own innate qualities. Only as the " rules of the game " become the same for all children can self-image be soundly formed. Children brought up in an all-white suburban community isolated from the realities of mixed racial, social, and economic situations can be disadvantaged children. Lacking experience with these very real problems they will be ill-equipped to deal with them when they leave school to enter a world of increasing diversity.

2. Educational considerations are primary in eliminating school segregation. The elimination of racial imbalance is not to be sought as an end in itself but because it stands as a deterrent and handicap to the improvement of education for all. The corollary of the recognition of educational improvement for all children as the reason for integration is the necessity for quality in all schools everywhere. Desegregation and the prevention of further school segregation alike hinge on the creation everywhere of public schools so excellent that parents of all ethnic groups will enroll their children with confidence and pride. It is of utmost importance to find ways of correcting the deficiencies of schools not now producing the results they should.

3. The organizational and administrative arrangements of the school system exist for the purpose of facilitating the achievement of educational objectives. This is the criterion for the necessary continuing evaluation of existing arrangements in terms of their appropriateness for changing needs.

4. The " neighborhood " school offers important values, particularly in early education, but, when it becomes improperly exclusive in fact or in spirit, when it is viewed as being reserved for certain community groups, or when its effect is to create or continue a ghetto-type situation, it does not serve the purpose of democratic education, and corrective action is called for.

5. Decisions as to the particular means of eliminating racial segregation in education should, insofar as possible, be left to local action. There are many ways of dealing with the problem, and the local school officials, with their intimate knowledge of all factors of the local situation, are in a strategic position to devise solutions best suited to local needs. It is the State, however, that bears the ultimate responsibility for equalizing educational opportunities, and it is the obligation of the local school authorities to develop and implement plans in harmony with State policy. Where the solution to the problem is beyond the capability of the local school districts, or where a district fails or refuses to act, then the responsibility for corrective action is clearly and inescapably that of the State.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To apply the foregoing principles, the Regents recommend:

1. The establishment of school attendance areas that make possible, wherever feasible, a student body that represents a cross-section of the population of the entire school district.

2. Action by school boards to develop and keep up to date a district plan for achieving and maintaining racially integrated schools. This plan should be developed with the assistance of a citizens' advisory committee broadly representative of the community. Appropriate and effective participation in the formation of educational policies is the right of every parent, and special effort should be made to provide opportunity for the involvement of minority-group parents in school affairs that affect their children.

3. A continuing emphasis upon racially comprehensive enrollment policies in nonpublic schools and an active effort on the part of public school authorities to bring nonpublic schools into the total community effort to eliminate racial segregation in education.

4. Initiative by school boards in seeking cooperation and assistance of other local agencies, public and private, in the development of plans and programs for integration. Although the schools bear the major responsibility for the provision of quality integrated education for all, other community agencies dealing with welfare, housing, transportation, health, and community development or planning also have vital responsibilities which are an essential part of the effort to achieve the ultimate goal.

5. The exploration by school boards of the possibilities of improving racial balance in their schools through cooperative action with neighboring districts.

6. The establishment and modification of school district boundaries so as to eliminate and avoid those which result in racial segregation.

7. The revision and simplification of legislation authorizing school district reorganization and the substantial increase of existing financial incentives for reorganization.

8. The modification of constitutional tax and debt limits on real property affecting city school districts in order to permit greater flexibility for the organization, administration, and financing of school systems which involve the city and its neighboring districts.

9. Increased State appropriations to stimulate school desegregation and to help school districts finance the additional costs incurred in carrying out programs for achieving integration.

10. An accelerated effort to have, in all our classrooms, textbooks and other teaching materials that reflect in their content and presentation the ethnic and cultural diversity of our world, and in particular, of American life. The curriculum should provide for all children an understanding of the contribution of the Negro, Puerto Rican,

and other minority groups, and the background and nature of the present struggle for justice and equality of opportunity.

11. A broader and more intensive program of workshops for school board members and administrators, sponsored by the State Education Department, designed to promote a fuller understanding of both their local and statewide responsibilities for integration.

12. The provision throughout the State of more extensive and stronger inservice programs for teachers and administrators to increase their understanding and competence in dealing with new situations and requirements of integrated schools.

13. The broadening of the programs in our colleges and universities for the training of teachers and administrators to include preparation for the special requirements of integration. This preparation should include such experiences as student teaching, internships, seminars, and workshops involving minority-group children and adults.

CONCLUSION

Fundamental in all efforts to achieve the objective of an integrated society is the principle of equality of educational opportunity. A manifestation of the vitality of our American democratic society and essential to its continuation, this basic principle, deeply embedded in education law and policy, has been continually reaffirmed in both its practical advantages and its moral justice by new developments and needs of changing times.

The Regents reaffirm their dedication to this principle and reemphasize the obligation of the entire educational system to maintain those policies and practices that will make equality of educational opportunity a reality for all our children and youth.

APPENDIX C

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY
AND COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
ALBANY

GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR DEALING WITH DE FACTO SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Drafted by the State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions)

In contemporary America, race or color is unfortunately associated with status distinctions among groups of human beings. The public schools reflect this larger social fact in that the proportion of Negroes and whites in a given school is often associated with the status of the school. The educational quality and performance to be expected from that school are frequently expressed in terms of the racial complexion and general status assigned to the school. It is well recognized that in most cases a school enrolling a large proportion of Negro students is viewed as a lower status school. It is also true, of course, that an all white school enrolling a substantial proportion of children from culturally deprived homes is frequently considered less desirable.

A cardinal principle, therefore, in the effective desegregation of a public school system is that all of the schools which comprise that system should have an equitable distribution of the various ethnic and cultural groups in the municipality or the school district. Where serious imbalance exists the school with the highest proportion of minority group and lower-status children tends to receive more such children as parents who are able to do so move to neighborhoods and schools of higher status.

A program which seeks an equitable distribution of majority and minority group children in all of the schools of a district offers several advantages. It will enable all children to profit from acquaintance with others of different backgrounds than their own, it will reduce distinctions among schools based on non-educational factors, and will probably stabilize the shifts of enrollment which often follow the arrival of minority group children in disproportionate numbers in a particular school.

The Committee recognizes that long established patterns and community customs are not easily or quickly changed and that psychological and social factors operate on all sides of such a situation as the one now before you. We therefore suggest six principles which seem to us relevant to the whole question of racila balance in the schools.

1. The common school has long been viewed as a basic social instrument in attaining our traditional American goals of equal opportunity and personal fulfillment. The presence in a single school of children from varied racial, cultural, socio-economic, and religious backgrounds is an important element in the preparation of young people for active participation in the social and political affairs of our democracy.

2. In forming school policies, every educationally sound action should be taken to assure not only passive tolerance but active acceptance of and genuine respect for children from every segment of the community, with particular attention given to those from minority groups that may have been the objects of discriminatory mistreatment.

3. No action, direct or indirect, overt or covert, to exclude any child or group of children from a public school because of ethnic, racial, religious, or other educationally irrelevant reasons should be taken by any public agency. Whereever such action has occurred it is the obligation of the school authorities to correct it as quickly as possible.

4. No action should be taken which implies that any school or any group of pupils is socially inferior or superior to another, or which suggests that schoolmates of one group are to be preferred to schoolmates of another. In establishing school attendance areas one of the objectives should be to create in each school, a student body that will represent as nearly as possible a cross-section of the population of the entire school district, but with due consideration also for other important educational criteria including such practical matters as the distance children must travel from home to school.

5. A "neighborhood school" offers important educational values which should not be overlooked. The relation between a school and a definable community with which it is identified can, in many cases, lead to more effective participation by parents and other citizens in the support and guidance of

the school. It can stimulate sound concern for the welfare of the school and its pupils and can lead to beneficial communication between the school staff and the community that staff serves.

6. When a "neighborhood school" becomes improperly exclusive in fact or in spirit, when it is viewed as being reserved for certain community groups, or when its effect is to create or continue a ghetto type situation it does not serve the purposes of democratic education.

June 17, 1963

APPENDIX D

Report of Special Study of Elementary School Pupils[1]

In October 1961 Commissioner James E. Allen, Jr., announced to a meeting of school superintendents at Saranac Lake that the New York State Education Department would conduct a census study of all school districts in the State which would take into account some of the ethnic backgrounds of the pupils. A necessary step in enlarging educational opportunity and in encouraging quality education in the public schools, the twin prime objectives with which the Regents and the Education Department are charged, is to know the racial composition of each elementary school building and each elementary class within a school district.

A study of this kind had not been carried out in New York before and the best available information shows no evidence that any other northern state has undertaken such a project. The United States Commission on Civil Rights in its recent report to the President and Congress recommends that a racial census be made for each State. It suggests that perhaps such a census be undertaken by the Federal Government. It can be noted that Delaware has, since it undertook to de-segregate its schools after a series of court cases declared its de jure segregation illegal, carried out a racial census of school districts. This is the only instance of an attempt to find factual data on racial imbalance of schools within a State.

The Division of Intercultural Relations was requested to carry out the survey; a questionnaire form with covering instructions was prepared and mailed to each school district which had at least one elementary building. These instructions stated:

"The purpose of this census is to provide certain research and statistical data on the school population in all the school districts of the State. It is a limited census in that not all ethnic factors will be taken into account and only the elementary grades, 1–6 (inclusive), will be surveyed.

"The Superintendent, District Superintendent, or Supervising Principal of each school district can best determine the way to conduct this census for his school system. The specific points listed below are to insure that the methods applied by each school will provide data consistent with every other school in the State.

"1. The Census will only include grades 1 through 6 inclusive, and all special classes of children designated as elementary pupils. Special classes are those, graded or ungraded, for special physical handicaps; handicaps to learning, mental or emotional; any special classes organized for rapid learning; or others. Please designate these groups under column (1) grade and indicate the kind of special class.

"2. Each school building of the district which houses any elementary pupils is to be reported on a separate questionnaire.

"3. As few school personnel should be used in the census count as possible; however, complete and accurate information is essential.

"4. No pupil and no parent of any pupil shall be asked his race or ancestry.

"5. The social definition for "Negro," "white," "Puerto Rican," or "other" is to be used. This is to say that, if in the community an individual is considered to be in one of the above ethnic groups, for the purpose of this study he is so counted.

"6. No record is to be kept of this information as it relates to an individual; totals only for classrooms are to be reported."

Forms were sent to 882 districts which were reported as conducting elementary schools. At the time of this writing 838 have returned the information requested; this is 95% of all districts. Returns are still being processed as follow-up continues; some districts were mis-addressed, new centralizations had recently taken place, etc., so the non-return of a form does not mean reluctance to provide the information. A few school districts have expressed such reluctance; however, it is believed that a near 100% return will be at hand.

There is no reference in this report to absolute numbers of "white," "Negro," "Puerto Rican," or "Other" pupils. Although totals are available from the data, these totals will not coincide with other statistical data published by the

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[1] United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1966. pp. 309-315.

Department. The explanation for the very minor discrepancy is that all special classes were not compiled, all districts have not yet answered and in one or two cases the attendance for that day appear to be reported, not the total enrolled in a class. This, however, does not distort the results in any case since in considering ethnic or racial matters the relationship of totals to each other, that is, the percentage, is the important point. The ratio of one group to another is causative of difficulties, seeming or real, not how many individuals may be involved.

So much has been written about the public school population of New York City that this report will concentrate on the rest of the State; New York City totals and percents will be presented separately.

Excluding New York City there were 837 districts reporting. The data from each district was analyzed for all the categories used. Of all the school districts in the State 281, 33%, enrolled only white pupils; 556, 67% including more than one ethnic group although in many instances representation of others than "white" were very small, a fraction of a percent. Those 556 districts which included more than one ethnic group were distributed in this fashion: 206, 37%, had only Negro and white pupils; 7, .01%, had only Puerto Rican and white pupils; 48, .09%, had Negro, white and Puerto Rican pupils; 39, .07% only white and other; 111, 20%, Negro, white and other; 14, .02%, white, Puerto Rican and others; 131, 24%, had representation from all categories, white, Negro, Puerto Rican, and other. (See Table I attached.)

The diversity of New York State school population is brought into focus and perspective by the above analysis. Since considerable attention has been given to racial imbalance of schools in reference to Negro and white pupils, the data has been analyzed from this one dimension. Of all school districts reporting, 490, 58%, have both Negro and white pupils. Of these 490 districts the distribution is as follows: 234, 48%, less than 1%; 198, 40%, from 1–10% Negro; 28, .06%, from 11–20%; 15, .03%, from 21–30%; 10, .02%, from 31–40% and infinitesimal percentages above this figure. The highest concentration in any district is 61–70%. (Table II attached.) New York City has a Negro pupil population of 26%.

The school districts with a Puerto Rican pupil population number 196 or 33% of all districts. Of these districts 153 or 79% have less than 1% of the total school population so designated; the remainder fall in the 1–10% category (Table III.) New York City has a pupil population of Puerto Rican youngsters amounting to 19% of the total school enrollment. A similar analysis of the category termed "other" which includes oriental as well as American Indian, shows that 395, 47%, of all districts do include pupils from this ethnic category; however, 363 districts, 92%, have less than 1%. (Table IV.) New York City records less than 1% "other".

Far more significant than the percentage of Negro, Puerto Rican, or other pupils to white pupils in the entire school district is the relationship of one to the other in individual elementary buildings of each district. Individual school buildings have historically tended to serve neighborhoods. Especially for smaller children the nearness to school has been the usual method for drawing attendance lines. Since neighborhoods reflect housing patterns and local custom, and tradition, we will find that the individual buildings will reflect racial imbalance if such exists within a school district.

The uneveness in the distribution of the ethnic groups studied becomes more clear as the school district population is examined building by building. While a great number of districts will have only one elementary school so that all children attend the same classes together, a great number have more than one building. Here the school population is spread among several separate schools and during a school day the student groups do not associate with each other. While 33% of the school districts are all white a larger percentage of school buildings are all white, 41%. Table V shows the racial composition of the remaining 59%. Again it must be stated that many which are counted as having more than one group the percentage is often below 1% as will be demonstrated later. Table V shows that among individual elementary buildings, grades 1–6, 36% are Negro-white, 03% are Puerto Rican-white, 14% are other-white for a total of 53% with two different ethnic groups. The remaining 47% are combinations of groups; of these 12% are schools with all groups. Two (2) school buildings in the State, excluding New York City, have a 100% minority population; one is 100% Negro, one is 100% other and the locale suggests 100% Indian.

Again the identification of Negro-white schools will be meaningful since this is the largest of the minority groups in New York State, 5% of the total elementary school population. Bi-racial schools account for 1204 or 46% of all elementary school buildings. Of this 46% some 412 buildings, 34%, the ratio is less than 1%; 546 buildings, 45%, from 1–10%; 100, 08%, from 11–20%; 41, 03% from 21–30%, and so on. (Table VI)

The number of school buildings and therefore the school districts in which the percentage of Negro to white pupils is high is very small. Of 2611 buildings in 837 school districts, excluding New York City, there are 103 buildings in 41 school districts in which the ratio exceeds 30%. These numbers expressed in percentages are 04% of the buildings and 05% of all school districts. If Negro and Puerto Rican are combined and this ratio recomputed, for the schools reported above there is no change in percentages or absolute numbers. Table VII lists the school districts in which the ratio of Negro to white pupils is highest for the State.

The selection of the 31% as a kind of cut-off point between schools with low and high ratio of Negro pupils to white pupils is an arbitrary one. There is no attempt to define as de-facto segregated all which exceed this percentage, rather experience dictates that from this point and beyond school districts must give added concern to what is happening in their school district. Each community is different but the questions which school authorities must ask are very similar:

Are any of these "forgotten schools?"

Is the racial imbalance affecting motivation and learning?

Are the residential patterns and population changes altering the character of the school?

Which policies and actions are to be taken to alter, impede, or reverse the degree of racial imbalance which exists?

How best can the school and community work cooperatively to foster true integration for all school children?

This is the challenge which the Census study highlights and puts into sharper focus.

TABLE I.—*Ethnic Distribution of Pupils Among School Districts (excluding New York City)*

School Dists. reporting	White only	Negro—white only	Puerto Rican—white only	Negro—Puerto Rican—white	Other—white only	Negro—Other—white	White Puerto Rican—Other	ALL
837	281	206 37%	7 01%	48 09%	39 07%	111 20%	14 02%	131 24%
	33%	← 67% →						

TABLE II.—*Distribution of Negro Pupils Among School Districts (excluding New York City)*

School Dists. Reporting	No. of Dists. without Negroes	No. of Dists. with Negroes	Less than 1%	1–10%	11–20%	21–30%	31–40%	41–50%	51–60%	61–70%	71–80%	81–90%	91–100%
837	347 42%	490 58%	234 48%	198 40%	28 06%	15 03%	10 02%	2	2	1	0	0	0

TABLE III.—*Distribution of Puerto Ricans Among School Districts and School Buildings in New York State (excluding New York City)*

School Dists. Reporting	No. of Dists. without Puerto Ricans	No. of Dists. with Puerto Ricans	Less than 1%	1–10%	11–20%	21–30%	31–40%	41–50%	51–60%	61–70%	71–80%	81–90%	91–100%
837	651 77%	196 33%	153 79%	42 21%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE IV.—*Distribution of Others Among School Districts and School Buildings in New York State (excluding New York City)*

School Dists. Reporting	No. of Dists. without Other	No. of Dists. with Other	Less than 1%	1-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	91-100%
837	442 53%	395 47%	363 92%	29 07%	0	2 (*)	1 (*)	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE V.—*Ethnic Distribution of Pupils by School Buildings (excluding New York City)*

School Bldgs. Reporting	White only	Negro—white only	Puerto Rican—white only	Negro—Puerto Rican—white	Other—white only	Negro—Other white	White—Puerto Rican—Other	ALL
2595	1082	558 36%	59 03%	205 14%	203 14%	242 16%	59 04%	185 12%
	41%	← 59% →						

TABLE VI.—*Distribution of Negro Pupils by School Buildings (excluding New York City)*

School Bldgs. Reporting	No. of Bldgs. without Negroes	No. of Bldgs. with Negroes	Less than 1%	1-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	91-100%
2611	1407 54%	1204 46%	412 34%	546 45%	100 08%	41 03%	29 02%	16 01%	8 005%	11 01%	6 005%	11 01%	24 02%

TABLE VII.—*School Districts Which Have Concentration of Negro Pupils in Certain Buildings of the District (excluding New York City)*

SCHOOL DISTRICT	Elem. Bldgs. in Dists.	31-40% Negro	41-50% Negro	51-60% Negro	61-70% Negro	71-80% Negro	81-90% Negro	91-100% Negro
ALBANY	27		2	1	1	1	2	
ELMIRA	17		1					
BEACON	2	1						
POUGHKEEPSIE	7		2	1				
BUFFALO	80	1	1		1	1	1	14
LACKAWANNA	8	2					1	
ROCHESTER	43	2			3		2	2
GLEN COVE	5					1		
HEMPSTEAD 1, HEMPSTEAD	6	1				2	1	
HEMPSTEAD 8, ROOSEVELT	5							1
HEMPSTEAD 9, FREEPORT	6							1
HEMPSTEAD 12, MALVERNE	3				1			
HEMPSTEAD 13, LAWRENCE	6		1					
HEMPSTEAD 21, ROCKVILLE CENTRE	6			1				
NORTH HEMPSTEAD 1, WESTBURY	6				1			
NORTH HEMPSTEAD 6, MANHASSET	3							1
NIAGARA FALLS	24				1			2
UTICA	21			1				1
GENEVA	4	1						
SYRACUSE	33				1			1
NEWBURGH	8	1					1	1
TROY	10		1					
BABYLON 6, AMITYVILLE	5							1
SCHENECTADY	20	1						
BABYLON 9, WYANDANCH	1				1			
BROOKHAVEN 12	3	2						
EASTHAMPTON 2, WAINSCOTT	1		1					
RIVERHEAD 2, RIVERHEAD	8	3		1				
SOUTHHAMPTON	1	1						
SOUTHHAMPTON 9, BRIDGEHAMPTON	1			1				
SOUTHHOLD 7, PECONIC	1	1						

TABLE VII.—Continued

SCHOOL DISTRICT	Elem. Bldgs. in Dists.	31-40% Negro	41-50% Negro	51-60% Negro	61-70% Negro	71-80% Negro	81-90% Negro	91-100% Negro
KINGSTON	15	2						
WAWARSING 2	6	1						
GREENBURGH 8. GREENBURGH	3	2	1					
GREENBERG 11	1	1						
MOUNT VERNON	11		2		1	1	1	
NEW ROCHELLE	12	2		1			1	
OSSINING 1	5	1						
PEEKSKILL	6	1	1					
WHITE PLAINS	11	1		1				
YONKERS	29	1	1					

TABLE VIII.—*Distribution of Puerto Rican Pupils by School Buildings (excluding New York City)*

School Bldgs. Reporting	No. of Bldgs. without Puerto Ricans	No. of Bldgs. with Puerto Ricans	Less than 1%	1-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	1-100%
2611	2111 81%	500 19%	285 57%	205 41%	5 01%	5 01%	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0

TABLE IX.—*Distribution of Other Pupils by School Buildings (excluding New York City)*

School Bldgs. Reporting	No. of Bldgs. without Other	No. of Bldgs. with Others	Less than 1%	1-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	91-100%
2611	1912 74%	699 26%	527 75%	166 24%	0 0	2 002%	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 005%

APPENDIX E

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY
AND COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
ALBANY

June 14, 1963

To: All Chief Local School Administrators and Presidents of Boards of Education

Subject: Racial Imbalance in Schools

The State Education Department is constantly seeking to improve policies and practices which will bring about the full operation of the principle of equality of educational opportunity for persons of all social, economic and cultural backgrounds. In line with this effort and after studying the implications of the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court, the Board of Regents adopted and announced in January 1961, a Statement of Policy which contained the following paragraph:

> "The State of New York has long held the principle that equal opportunity for all children, without regard to differences in economic, national, religious or racial background, is a manifestation of the vitality of our American democratic society and is essential to its continuation. This fundamental educational principle has long since been written into Education Law and policy. Subsequent events have repeatedly given it moral reaffirmation. Nevertheless, all citizens have the responsibility to reexamine the schools within their local systems in order to determine whether they conform to this standard so clearly seen to be the right of every child."

The Regents' statement goes on to point out that modern psychological and sociological knowledge seems to indicate that in schools in which the enrollment is largely from a minority group of homogeneous, ethnic origin, the personality of these minority group children may be damaged. There is a decrease in motivation and thus an impairment of ability to learn. Public education in such a

(over)

situation is socially unrealistic, blocking the attainment of the goals of democratic education, and wasteful of manpower and talent, whether the situation occurs by law or by fact.

To implement the Regents' policy, the Department has carried on through its Division of Intercultural Relations, a continuing program of education and assistance aimed toward securing greater understanding and constructive action throughout the schools and colleges of the State. Important progress has been made, especially in higher education.

To assemble additional information on the problem, the Department conducted in November 1961, a racial census of the elementary schools of the State. The findings of that study were reported in July 1962. The report identified a number of districts in which the ratio of Negro to white pupils was relatively high and suggested that these districts should give added attention to this situation.

In June 1962, I appointed a three-member Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions to advise and assist the Department and the local school districts. From its studies, the Committee has developed a statement of principles for dealing with racial imbalance in the schools. A copy of this statement is enclosed.

The position of the Department, based on the policy of the Regents, and the principles of the Commissioner's Advisory Committee, is that the racial imbalance existing in a school in which the enrollment is wholly or predominantly Negro interferes with the achievement of equality of educational opportunity and must therefore be eliminated from the schools of New York State.

If this is to be accomplished, there must be corrective action in each community where such imbalance exists. In keeping with the principle of local control, it is the responsibility of the local school authorities in such communities to develop and implement the necessary plans.

It is recognized that in some communities residential patterns and other factors may present serious obstacles to the attainment of racially balanced schools. This does not, however, relieve the school authorities of their responsibility for doing everything within their power, consistent with the principles of sound education, to achieve an equitable balance.

In order that the Department may know what your plans are for carrying out this responsibility, I request that you submit to me by September 1, 1963, the following information:

1. A statement indicating the situation in your district with regard to any problem of racial imbalance, regardless of the number of Negro children enrolled, or to the actual existence of or trend toward racial imbalance. At this time and for the purpose of this report, a racially imbalanced school is defined as one having 50 per cent or more Negro pupils enrolled.

2. A statement of policy by your board of education with respect to the maintenance of racial balance in your schools.

3. In districts where racial imbalance exists, or is a problem, a report of progress made toward eliminating it.

4. In such districts, your plan for further action, including estimates of the additional cost, if any, and of the time required for carrying out your plan.

In addition to this request for information from your district, I have directed the staff of the State Education Department to reexamine all State laws, rules, regulations, policies and programs pertinent to the issue here under discussion, and to submit to me by the same date any revisions that may be necessary for making them more effective instruments for the elimination of racial imbalance.

These requests for more positive action to eliminate racial imbalance in the schools of New York State are a logical extension of State law and policy, necessary if the principle of equality of educational opportunity is to apply to all, regardless of race, color, creed or economic background. I am aware that many of you have already taken constructive action in this regard and that you will continue to do so. I am confident that working together we shall be able to achieve solutions which will truly serve the purposes of education in a democracy.

Please let me know how the Department can be of assistance to you in this important effort.

Sincerely,

James E. Allen Jr

James E. Allen, Jr.
Commissioner of Education

Enclosure

APPENDIX F

Population Statistics: New York State and Selected School Districts

Table 41

Total and Nonwhite Populations in New York State: 1940 - 1967[1]

Year	Total	Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	% Increase in Nonwhite
1940	13,479,142	599,596	4.4	--
1950	14,830,192	958,097	6.5	59.8
1960	16,782,304	1,495,233	8.9	56.1
1967[a]	18,072,089	1,834,026	10.1	22.7

[1] Based on data from the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967)

[a] Estimated

Table 42

Comparison of Minority Proportions in 42 Selected School Districts with Minority Proportions in Counties of Location and All Other Districts in Those Counties 1968[1]

(Counties Arranged by Standard Statistical Metropolitan Areas; Districts Ranked Within Counties by Size)

Area	Total School Population	Percent Negro	Percent Puerto Rican	Percent[a] Minority
NEW YORK CITY SMSA				
New York City	1,118,676	31.9	23.3	55.2
Westchester County	169,093	12.6	1.8	14.4
Yonkers	30,794	12.0	4.3	16.3
Mount Vernon	12,332	51.4	1.4	52.8
New Rochelle	12,331	20.8	.7	21.5
White Plains	8,964	18.3	2.5	20.8
Ossining	5,473	15.4	1.6	17.0
Peekskill	3,340	29.0	4.6	33.6
Greenburgh	4,174	32.6	.5	33.1
Rest of County	91,685	4.3	1.0	5.3
Rockland County	53,056	5.0	1.9	6.9
Spring Valley	15,283	8.3	.7	9.0
Suffern	5,104	1.4	.4	1.8
Nyack	3,651	23.2	.3	23.5
Rest of County	29,018	1.6	3.0	4.6
Nassau County	333,166	5.4	.8	6.2
Freeport	7,429	28.5	2.2	30.7
Long Beach	6,279	9.8	2.7	12.5
Hempstead	5,828	71.4	1.8	73.2
Glen Cove	5,364	11.2	5.5	16.7
Westbury	5,040	39.8	1.4	41.2
Rockville Centre	4,373	5.7	1.6	7.3
Roosevelt	3,906	70.4	1.1	71.5
Malverne	2,905	47.4	.2	47.6
Rest of County	292,042	1.4	.6	2.0
Suffolk County	284,120	5.7	1.9	7.6
Amityville	4,531	40.9	.5	41.4
Bellport	4,377	18.2	2.3	20.5
Riverhead	4,240	29.7	.9	30.6
Middle Island	2,925	23.7	.9	24.5
Wyandanch	2,304	91.6	2.0	93.6
Southampton	1,860	23.8	0	23.8
Bridgehampton	378	55.6	0	55.6

Table 42 (Continued)

Peconic	27	22.2	0	22.2
Rest of County	263,478	3.3	1.9	5.3
BUFFALO SMSA				
Erie County	214,045	12.9	.8	13.7
Buffalo	71,665	36.8	1.8	38.6
Lackawanna	5,865	16.2	2.6	18.8
Rest of County	136,515	.2	.2	.4
Niagara County	57,056	6.4	.3	6.7
Niagara Falls	18,426	16.2	.1	16.3
Rest of County	38,630	1.8	.4	2.1
ROCHESTER SMSA				
Monroe County	139,398	10.3	1.2	11.5
Rochester	47,372	28.9	3.3	32.2
Rest of County	92,026	.8	.1	.9
SYRACUSE SMSA				
Onondaga County	101,804	6.5	.1	6.6
Syracuse	30,428	20.9	.2	21.1
Rest of County	71,376	.4	b	.4
ALBANY-SCHENECTADY-TROY SMSA				
Albany County	46,921	8.7	.2	8.8
Albany	12,010	30.7	.2	30.9
Rest of County	34,911	1.1	.1	1.2
Schenectady County	31,515	3.3	.2	3.5
Schenectady	12,928	7.3	.3	7.6
Rest of County	18,550	.4	.1	.5
Rensselaer County	28,231	4.0	.1	4.1
Troy	7,292	12.3	.1	12.4
Rest of County	20,939	1.1	.1	1.2
UTICA-ROME SMSA				
Oneida County	58,668	3.9	.4	4.3
Utica	14,581	11.8	1.1	12.9
Rest of County	44,087	1.3	.2	1.5
OUTSIDE SMSAs				
Orange County	49,487	8.8	1.8	10.6

Table 42 (Continued)

Newburgh	12,720	23.0	2.9	25.9
Rest of County	36,797	3.9	1.4	5.3
Dutchess County	45,889	7.5	.7	8.2
Poughkeepsie	5,937	32.7	.2	32.9
Beacon	3,393	17.6	4.8	22.4
Rest of County	36,559	2.5	.4	2.9
Ulster County	30,880	4.4	1.7	6.1
Kingston	10,926	5.3	.6	5.9
Rest of County	19,954	4.0	2.3	6.3
Chemung County	23,858	4.0	b	4.0
Elmira	14,126	6.4	b	6.4
Rest of County	9,732	.5	b	.5
Ontario County	18,932	2.2	.7	2.9
Geneva	3,383	9.4	1.3	10.7
Rest of County	15,549	.6	.5	1.1

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] Negro and Puerto Rican combined.

[b] Less than .1 percent.

Table 43

Changes in Total Enrollment in 42 Selected School Districts 1966-68[1]
(Districts Ranked by Percent Negro and Puerto Rican in 1968)

District	Number			Percent Change
	1966	1967	1968	1966 - 1968
Wyandanch	2,255	2,253	2,304	+ 2.2
Hempstead	5,306	5,497	5,828	+ 9.8
Roosevelt	3,676	3,846	3,906	+ 6.3
Bridgehampton	404	389	378	- 6.4
New York City	1,084,818	1,105,549	1,118,676	+ 3.1
Mount Vernon	12,059	12,964	12,332	+ 2.3
Malverne	2,999	2,911	2,905	- 3.1
Amityville	4,496	4,499	4,531	+ 0.8
Westbury	5,044	5,078	5,040	a
Buffalo	72,762	72,692	71,665	- 1.5
Peekskill	3,244	3,322	3,340	+ 3.0
Greenburgh	2,989	3,073	4,174	+39.6
Poughkeepsie	5,811	5,809	5,937	+ 2.2
Rochester	45,365	46,570	47,372	+ 4.4
Albany	12,991	12,674	12,010	- 7.6
Freeport	7,262	7,334	7,429	+ 2.3
Riverhead	3,898	4,211	4,240	+ 8.8
Newburgh	11,531	12,204	12,720	+10.3
Middle Island	2,854	2,868	2,925	+ 2.5
Southampton	1,784	1,710	1,860	+ 4.3
Nyack	3,584	3,589	3,651	+ 1.9
Beacon	3,173	3,227	3,393	+ 6.9
Peconic	24	30	27	+12.5
New Rochelle	12,273	12,581	12,331	+ 0.5
Syracuse	30,650	30,862	30,428	- 0.7
White Plains	8,831	8,867	8,964	+ 1.5
Bellport	3,849	4,023	4,377	+13.7
Lackawanna	5,644	5,742	5,865	+ 3.9
Ossining	5,183	5,525	5,473	+ 5.6
Glen Cove	5,025	5,234	5,364	+ 6.7
Niagara Falls	19,043	18,860	18,426	- 3.2
Yonkers	29,475	30,296	30,794	+ 4.5
Utica	15,120	14,869	14,581	- 3.6
Long Beach	6,089	6,195	6,279	+ 3.1
Troy	6,827	6,865	7,292	+ 6.8

Table 43 (Continued)

Geneva	3,195	3,325	3,383	+ 5.9
Spring Valley	12,366	14,327	15,283	+23.6
Schenectady	12,409	12,624	12,928	+ 4.2
Rockville Centre	4,201	4,314	4,373	+ 4.1
Elmira	13,870	14,151	14,126	+ 1.8
Kingston	10,089	10,495	10,926	+ 8.3
Suffern	4,286	4,908	5,104	+19.1

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] Less than .1 percent.

Table 44

Changes in Numbers and Percents of "Other" Pupils in 42 Selected School Districts 1966-1968[1]

(Districts Ranked by Percent Negro and Puerto Rican in 1968)

District	Number			Percent of Total Enrollment			Percent Change
	1966	1967	1968	1966	1967	1968	1966-1968
Wyandanch	355	273	145	15.7	12.1	6.3	- 59.2
Hempstead	1,628	1,561	1,564	30.7	28.4	26.5	- 5.0
Roosevelt	1,709	1,494	1,108	46.5	38.8	28.4	- 35.2
Bridgehampton	200	192	168	49.5	49.4	44.4	- 16.0
New York City	540,591[a]	529,930[a]	501,321[a]	49.8	47.9	44.8	- 7.3
Mount Vernon	6,468	6,594	5,770	53.6	50.9	46.8	- 10.8
Malverne	1,641	1,537	1,515	54.7	52.8	52.2	- 7.7
Amityville	2,859	2,807	2,650	63.6	62.4	58.5	- 7.3
Westbury	3,272	3,182	2,944	64.9	62.7	58.4	- 10.0
Buffalo	45,922	45,430	43,538	63.1	62.5	60.8	- 5.2
Peekskill	2,295	2,328	2,216	70.7	70.1	66.3	- 3.4
Greenburgh	1,886	1,886	2,773	63.1	61.4	66.4	+ 47.0
Poughkeepsie	4,205	4,132	3,973	72.4	71.1	66.9	- 5.5
Rochester	32,350	32,370	32,016	71.3	69.5	67.6	- 1.0
Albany	9,300	8,959	8,272	71.6	70.7	68.9	- 11.1
Freeport	5,574	5,359	5,142	76.8	73.1	69.2	- 7.8
Riverhead	2,755	2,926	2,921	70.7	69.5	68.9	+ 6.0
Newburgh	8,836	9,229	9,348	76.6	75.6	73.5	+ 5.8
Middle Island	2,017	2,075	2,207	70.7	72.4	75.5	+ 9.4
Southampton	1,301	1,218	1,320	72.9	71.2	71.0	+ 1.5
Nyack	2,750	2,718	2,787	76.7	75.7	76.3	+ 1.3
Beacon	2,439	2,463	2,624	76.9	76.3	77.3	+ 7.6
Peconic	14	18	21	58.3	60.0	77.8	+ 50.0
New Rochelle	9,992	9,961	9,580	81.4	79.2	77.7	- 4.1
Syracuse	25,223	24,779	23,873	82.3	80.3	78.5	- 5.4
White Plains	7,322	7,289	7,063	82.9	82.2	78.8	- 3.5
Bellport	3,107	3,167	3,472	80.7	78.7	79.3	+ 11.7
Lackawanna	4,596	4,625	4,754	81.4	80.5	81.1	+ 3.4
Ossining	4,424	4,682	4,536	85.4	84.7	82.9	+ 2.5
Glen Cove	4,286	4,478	4,426	85.3	85.6	82.5	+ 3.3
Niagara Falls	16,027	15,760	15,312	84.2	83.6	83.1	- 4.5
Yonkers	25,192	25,617	25,599	85.5	84.6	83.1	+ 1.6
Utica	13,467	13,151	12,697	89.1	88.4	89.1	- 5.7
Long Beach	5,463	5,468	5,476	89.7	88.3	87.2	+ 0.2
Troy	6,014	6,035	6,369	88.1	87.9	87.3	+ 5.9

Table 44 (Continued)

Geneva	2,835	2,968	3,010	88.7	89.3	89.0	+ 6.2
Spring Valley	11,442	13,072	13,886	92.5	91.2	90.9	+ 21.4
Schenectady	11,530	11,687	11,924	92.9	92.6	92.2	+ 3.4
Rockville Centre	3,976	4,012	4,035	94.6	93.0	92.3	+ 1.5
Elmira	13,082	13,244	13,213	94.3	93.6	93.5	+ 1.0
Kingston	9,542	9,880	10,248	94.6	94.1	93.8	+ 7.4
Suffern	4,093	4,713	5,008	95.5	96.0	98.1	+ 22.4

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] Includes all N.Y.C. public school pupils who are neither Puerto Rican nor Negro.

Table 45

Changes in Numbers and Percents of Negro Pupils in 42 Selected School Districts: 1966-1968[1]

(Districts ranked by percent Negro and Puerto Rican in 1968)

District	Number			Percent of total enrollment			Percent change
	1966	1967	1968	1966	1967	1968	1966-1968
Wyandanch	1,840	1,918	2,110	81.6	85.1	91.6	+ 14.7
Hempstead	3,575	3,833	4,159	67.4	69.7	71.4	+ 16.3
Roosevelt	1,920	2,278	2,751	52.2	59.2	70.4	+ 43.3
Bridgehampton	204	197	210	50.5	50.6	55.6	+ 2.9
New York City	317,613	332,192	356,392	29.3	30.0	31.9	+ 12.2
Mount Vernon	5,476	6,244	6,336	45.4	48.2	51.4	+ 15.7
Malverne	1,332	1,363	1,378	44.4	46.8	47.4	+ 3.5
Amityville	1,618	1,688	1,855	36.0	37.5	40.9	+ 14.6
Westbury	1,707	1,850	2,008	33.8	36.4	39.8	+ 17.6
Buffalo	25,314	25,641	26,356	34.8	35.3	36.8	+ 4.1
Peekskill	826	863	967	25.5	26.0	29.0	+ 17.1
Greenburgh	1,094	1,173	1,359	36.6	38.2	32.6	+ 24.2
Poughkeepsie	1,588	1,648	1,940	27.3	28.4	32.7	+ 22.2
Rochester	11,956	12,781	13,679	26.4	27.4	28.9	+ 14.4
Albany	3,691	3,684	3,685	28.4	29.1	30.7	- 0.2
Freeport	1,577	1,841	2,117	21.7	25.1	28.5	+ 34.2
Riverhead	1,105	1,245	1,260	28.3	29.6	29.7	+ 14.0
Newburgh	2,457	2,647	2,925	21.3	21.7	23.0	+ 19.0
Middle Island	836	722	693	29.3	25.2	23.7	- 17.1
Southampton	387	408	442	21.7	23.9	23.8	+ 14.2
Nyack	796	854	846	22.2	23.8	23.2	+ 6.3
Beacon	607	619	598	19.1	19.2	17.6	- 1.5
Peconic	10	12	6	41.7	40.0	22.2	- 40.0
New Rochelle	2,174	2,429	2,569	17.7	19.3	20.8	+ 18.2
Syracuse	5,399	5,946	6,365	17.6	19.3	20.9	+ 17.9
White Plains	1,509	1,499	1,637	17.1	16.9	18.3	+ 8.5
Bellport	661	761	796	17.2	18.9	18.2	+ 20.4
Lackawanna	917	963	951	16.2	16.8	16.2	+ 3.7
Ossining	733	809	845	14.1	14.6	15.4	+ 15.3
Glen Cove	485	502	600	9.7	9.6	11.2	+ 23.7

Table 45 (Continued)

District	Number			Percent of total enrollment			Percent change
	1966	1967	1968	1966	1967	1968	1966-1968
Niagara Falls	2,855	2,973	2,986	15.0	15.8	16.2	+ 4.6
Yonkers	3,297	3,486	3,698	11.2	11.5	12.0	+ 12.2
Utica	1,491	1,573	1,715	9.9	10.6	11.8	+ 15.0
Long Beach	445	543	617	7.3	8.8	9.8	+ 38.7
Troy	787	809	899	11.5	11.8	12.3	+ 14.2
Geneva	310	297	319	9.7	8.9	9.4	+ 2.9
Spring Valley	841	1,165	1,264	6.8	8.1	8.3	+ 50.3
Schenectady	840	896	950	6.8	7.1	7.3	+ 13.1
Rockville Centre	197	242	250	4.7	5.6	5.7	+ 26.9
Elmira	772	891	902	5.6	6.3	6.4	+ 16.8
Kingston	505	559	583	5.0	5.3	5.3	+ 15.4
Suffern	113	136	73	2.6	2.8	1.4	- 35.4

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

Table 46

Changes in Numbers and Percents of Puerto Rican Pupils in 42 Selected School Districts 1966-1968[1]

(Districts Ranked by Percent Negro and Puerto Rican in 1968)

District	Number			Percent of Total Enrollment			Percent Change
	1966	1967	1968	1966	1967	1968	1966-1968
Wyandanch	48	52	46	2.1	2.3	2.0	- 4.2
Hempstead	65	76	102	1.1	1.4	1.8	+ 56.9
Roosevelt	42	30	43	1.1	.8	1.1	+ 2.4
Bridgehampton	0	0	0	0	0	0	b
New York City	226,614	243,427	260,963	20.9	20.9	23.3	+ 15.2
Mount Vernon	71	71	173	.6	.5	1.4	+ 143.7
Malverne	7	4	6	.2	.1	.2	- 14.3
Amityville	19	2	22	.4	a	.5	+ 15.8
Westbury	26	25	73	.5	.5	1.4	+ 180.8
Buffalo	1,055	1,136	1,276	1.4	1.6	1.8	+ 20.9
Peekskill	118	129	153	3.6	3.9	4.6	+ 29.7
Greenburgh	2	1	21	a	a	.5	+ 950.0
Poughkeepsie	3	4	11	a	a	.2	+ 266.7
Rochester	938	1,280	1,553	2.1	2.7	3.3	+ 65.6
Albany	0	10	30	0	a	.2	c
Freeport	89	68	163	1.2	.9	2.2	+ 83.1
Riverhead	17	17	37	.4	.4	.9	+ 117.6
Newburgh	238	301	374	2.1	2.5	2.9	+ 57.1
Middle Island	1	37	25	a	1.3	.9	+ 2400.0
Southampton	1	0	0	a	0	0	- 100.0
Nyack	13	3	12	.4	a	.3	- 7.7
Beacon	121	137	162	3.8	4.2	4.8	+ 33.9
Peconic	0	0	0	0	0	0	b
New Rochelle	24	48	85	.2	.4	.7	+ 254.2
Syracuse	4	41	62	a	.1	.2	+ 1450.0
White Plains	0	62	224	0	.7	2.5	d
Bellport	71	89	101	1.8	2.2	2.3	+ 42.3
Lackawanna	93	123	155	1.6	2.1	2.6	+ 66.7
Ossining	7	24	85	.1	.4	1.6	+ 1114.3
Glen Cove	187	206	295	3.7	3.9	5.5	+ 57.8
Niagara Falls	28	11	24	.1	a	.1	- 14.3
Yonkers	745	935	1,323	2.5	3.1	4.3	+ 77.6
Utica	152	133	155	1.0	.9	1.1	+ 2.0

Table 46 (continued)

Long Beach	154	161	171	2.5	2.6	2.7	+	11.0
Troy	10	5	9	.1	a	.1	-	10.0
Geneva	39	50	45	1.2	1.5	1.3	+	15.4
Spring Valley	47	43	101	.4	.3	.7	+	114.9
Schenectady	30	26	44	.2	.2	.3	+	46.7
Rockville Centre	7	34	69	.2	.8	1.6	+	885.7
Elmira	6	3	5	a	a	a	-	16.7
Kingston	23	32	62	.2	.3	.6	+	169.6
Suffern	23	12	21	.5	.2	.4	-	8.7

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] Less than .1 percent.

[b] No Puerto Rican pupils in district.

[c] Change from 0 to 30 pupils.

[d] Change from 0 to 224 pupils.

Table 47

Distribution of Minority Pupils in 42 Selected School Districts in Schools with Varying Percent of "Other" 1968 and 1967[1]

District		% Negro & P. R.	Number of Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in Schools Categorized by Percent "Other"											
			I 0-10.9	II 11.0-20.9	III 21.0-30.9	IV 31.0-40.9	V 41.0-50.9	I-V 0-50.9	VI 51.0-60.9	VII 61.0-70.9	VIII 71.0-80.9	IX 81.0-90.9	X 91.0-100	I-X 0-100
Wyandanch	1968	93.6	2,156					2,156						2,156
	1967	87.4	709	1,261				1,970						1,970
Hempstead	1968	73.2	2,619			1,046	278	3,943		318				4,261
	1967	71.1	2,481			933	275	3,689		283				3,972
Roosevelt	1968	71.5		1,227	585	967		2,779				15		2,794
	1967	60.0		70	873	590	761	2,294					14	2,308
Bridge-hampton	1968	55.6					210	210						210
	1967	50.6					197	197						197
New York City	1968	55.2	337,902	68,176	37,135	46,353	33,579	523,145	18,391	26,180	27,283	18,986	3,370	617,355
	1967	52.0	270,313	79,985	42,660	39,988	28,331	461,277	29,829	28,861	23,979	25,779	5,894	575,619
Mount Vernon	1968	52.8	1,751	1,560	398	209		3,918	803	1,218	500	70		6,509
	1967	48.7	1,256	1,973	333	164		3,726	624	1,412	243	310		6,315
Malverne	1968	47.6					730	730	257	397				1,384
	1967	46.9				222	232	454	651	262				1,367
Amity-ville	1968	41.4					371	371	1,203	303				1,877
	1967	37.5						0	938	503	249			1,690
Westbury	1968	41.2					774	774	584	415	308			2,081
	1967	36.9					326	326	927	357	265			1,875
Buffalo	1968	38.6	16,614	660	550	1,075	912	19,811	1,565	1,811	1,335	2,565	545	27,632
	1967	36.9	16,832	328	1,175		1,485	19,820	1,116	1,925	926	2,161	829	26,777
Peekskill	1968	33.6				74	294	368	146	193	413			1,120
	1967	29.9					169	169	250	140	387	46		992
Greenburgh	1968	33.1			81			81		1,028	228	43		1,380
	1967	38.2				77		77	439	658				1,174
Pough-keepsie	1968	32.9			467	595		1,062	175	184	305	214	11	1,951
	1967	28.4			436	204		640	167	385	251	201	8	1,652
Rochester	1968	32.2	4,005	937	2,556		503	8,001	2,232	663	2,215	1,557	564	15,232
	1967	30.1	3,581	1,598	1,515	1,061		7,755	1,437	925	1,276	1,892	776	14,061

Table 47 (Continued)

District		% Negro & P. R.	Number of Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in Schools Categorized by Percent "Other"											
			I 0-10.9	II 11.0-20.9	III 21.0-30.9	IV 31.0-40.9	V 41.0-50.9	I-V 0-50.9	VI 51.0-60.9	VII 61.0-70.9	VIII 71.0-80.9	IX 81.0-90.9	X 91.0-100	I-X 0-100
Albany	1968	30.9	80	1,482				1,562	1,004	420	405	234	90	3,715
	1967	29.1	95	1,482			393	1,970	687	124	559	279	75	3,694
Freeport	1968	30.7						0	1,160		1,120			2,280
	1967	26.0						0	512	276	775	346		1,909
Riverhead	1968	30.6						0		1,044	248		5	1,297
	1967	30.0						0		907	340	15		1,262
Newburgh	1968	25.9	1,013		509	311		1,833		430	199	711	126	3,299
	1967	24.2	878			740		1,618		280	299	667	84	2,948
Middle Island	1968	24.5						0		149	569			718
	1967	26.5						0		178	513	68		759
Southampton	1968	23.8						0		356		86		442
	1967	23.9						0		342		66		408
Nyack	1968	23.5						0			858			858
	1967	23.8					274	274	215		356		12	857
Beacon	1968	22.4						0		237	323	169	31	760
	1967	23.4						0	243		334	149	30	756
Peconic	1968	22.2						0			6			6
	1967	40.0						0	12					12
New Rochelle	1968	21.5					260	260	186	676	304	1,177	51	2,654
	1967	19.7				264		264	505	226	100	1,328	54	2,477
Syracuse	1968	21.1			1,203	498	359	2,060	680	429	1,429	1,273	556	6,427
	1967	19.4			951	1,226		2,177	390	459	1,079	1,208	674	5,987
White Plains	1968	20.8						0		590	406	865		1,861
	1967	17.6						0			689	872		1,561
Bellport	1968	20.5						0			442	455		897
	1967	21.1						0		205	322	323		850
Lackawanna	1968	18.8		200	449	218		867			53	136	50	1,106
	1967	18.9		220	440	209		869			56	133	28	1,086

Table 47 (Continued)

District		% Negro & P. R.	Number of Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in Schools Categorized by Percent "Other"											
			I 0-10.9	II 11.0-20.9	III 21.0-30.9	IV 31.0-40.9	V 41.0-50.9	I-V 0-50.9	VI 51.0-60.9	VII 61.0-70.9	VIII 71.0-80.9	IX 81.0-90.9	X 91.0-100	I-X 0-100
Ossining	1968	17.0						0	235	223	72	369	31	930
	1967	15.0					35	35		420		369	9	833
Glen Cove	1968	16.7			115			115			102	678		895
	1967	13.5			96			96			182	307	123	708
Niagara Falls	1968	16.3		324				324		99	1,245	1,163	179	3,010
	1967	15.8	431		139			570		424	722	1,071	197	2,984
Yonkers	1968	16.3			976	390		1,366	1,298	212	1,368	333	444	5,021
	1967	14.6			878	341		1,219	889	467	806	690	350	4,421
Utica	1968	12.9	221					221	258	231	406	419	335	1,870
	1967	11.5		201				201	256	193	357	157	542	1,706
Long Beach	1968	12.5						0	346			329	113	788
	1967	11.4						0		292		174	238	704
Troy	1968	12.4						0	241	112	89	402	64	908
	1967	11.8				41	236	277			153	97	287	814
Geneva	1968	10.7						0				311	53	364
	1967	10.4				138		138					209	347
Spring Valley	1968	9.0						0			256	735	374	1,365
	1967	8.4						0				796	412	1,208
Schnec-tady	1968	7.6						0	141		180	337	336	994
	1967	7.3						0	171	99	57	103	492	922
Rockville Centre	1968	7.3						0		77		76	166	319
	1967	6.4						0		71			205	276
Elmira	1968	6.4						0		189	59	348	311	907
	1967	6.3				206		206	256			133	299	894
Kingston	1968	5.9						0			213	49	383	645
	1967	5.6						0		162	46	158	225	591
Suffern	1968	1.8						0					94	94
	1967	3.0					88	88					60	148
TOTAL	1968		366,361	74,566	45,024	51,736	38,270	575,957	30,905	38,184	42,939	34,105	8,282	730,372
	1967		296,576	87,118	49,496	46,404	32,802	512,396	40,514	40,836	35,321	39,898	12,126	681,091

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969

Table 48

Percent Distribution of Minority Pupils in 42 Selected School Districts in Schools with Varying Percent of "Other" 1968 and 1967[1]

District		% Negro & P. R.	Percent of Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in Schools Categorized by Percent "Other" I 0-10.9	II 11.0-20.9	III 21.0-30.9	IV 31.0-40.9	V 41.0-50.9	I-V 0-50.9	VI 51.0-60.9	VII 61.0-70.9	VIII 71.0-80.9	IX 81.0-90.9	X 91.0-100
Wyandanch	1968	93.6	100.0					100.0					
	1967	87.4	36.0	64.0				100.0					
Hempstead	1968	73.2	61.5			24.5	6.5	92.5		7.5			
	1967	71.1	62.5			23.5	6.9	92.9		7.1			
Roosevelt	1968	71.5		43.9	20.9	34.6		99.5				.5	
	1967	60.0		3.0	37.8	25.6	33.0	99.4					.6
Bridgehampton	1968	55.6					100.0	100.0					
	1967	50.6					100.0	100.0					
New York City	1968	55.2	54.7	11.0	6.0	7.5	5.4	84.7	3.0	4.2	4.4	3.1	0.5
	1967	52.0	47.0	13.9	7.4	6.9	4.9	80.1	5.2	5.0	4.2	4.5	1.0
Mount Vernon	1968	52.8	26.9	24.0	6.1	3.2		60.2	12.3	18.7	7.7	1.1	
	1967	48.7	19.9	31.2	5.3	2.6		59.0	9.9	22.4	3.8	4.9	
Malverne	1968	47.6					52.7	52.7	18.6	28.7			
	1967	46.9				16.2	17.0	33.2	47.6	19.2			
Amityville	1968	41.4					19.8	19.8	64.1	16.1			
	1967	37.5							55.5	29.8	14.7		
Westbury	1968	41.2					37.2	37.2	28.1	19.9	14.8		
	1967	36.9					17.4	17.4	49.4	19.0	14.1		
Buffalo	1968	38.6	60.1	2.4	2.0	3.9	3.3	71.7	5.7	6.6	4.8	9.3	2.0
	1967	36.9	62.9	1.2	4.4		5.5	74.0	4.2	7.2	3.5	8.1	3.1
Peekskill	1968	33.6				6.6	26.3	32.9	13.0	17.2	36.9		
	1967	29.9					17.0	17.0	25.2	14.1	39.0	4.6	
Greenburgh	1968	33.1			5.9			5.9		74.5	16.5	3.1	
	1967	38.2				6.6		6.6	37.4	56.0			
Poughkeepsie	1968	32.9			23.9	30.5		54.4	9.0	9.4	15.6	11.0	.6
	1967	28.4			26.4	12.3		38.7	10.1	23.3	15.2	12.2	.5
Rochester	1968	32.2	26.3	6.2	16.8		3.3	52.5	14.7	4.4	14.5	10.2	3.7
	1967	30.1	25.5	11.4	10.8	7.5		55.2	10.2	6.6	9.1	13.5	5.5

Table 48 (Continued)

Albany	1968	30.9	2.2	39.9				42.1	27.0	11.3	10.9	6.3	2.4
	1967	29.1	2.6	40.1			10.6	53.3	18.6	3.4	15.1	7.6	2.0
Freeport	1968	30.7							50.9		49.1		
	1967	26.0							26.8	14.5	40.6	18.1	
Riverhead	1968	30.6								80.4	19.1		.4
	1967	30.0								71.9	26.9	1.2	
Newburgh	1968	25.9	30.7		15.4	9.4		55.5		13.0	6.0	21.6	3.8
	1967	24.2	29.9			25.1		55.0		9.5	10.1	22.6	2.8
Middle Island	1968	24.5								20.8	79.2		
	1967	26.5								23.5	67.6	9.0	
Southampton	1968	23.8								80.5		19.5	
	1967	23.9								83.8		16.2	
Nyack	1968	23.5									100.0		
	1967	23.8					32.0	32.0	25.1		41.5		1.4
Beacon	1968	22.4								31.2	42.5	22.2	4.1
	1967	23.4							32.1		44.2	19.7	4.0
Peconic	1968	22.2									100.0		
	1967	40.0							100.0				
New Rochelle	1968	21.5					9.8	9.8	7.0	25.5	11.5	44.3	1.9
	1967	19.7				10.7		10.7	20.4	9.1	4.0	53.6	2.2
Syracuse	1968	21.1			18.7	7.7	5.6	32.0	10.6	6.7	22.2	19.8	8.7
	1967	19.4			15.9	20.5		36.4	6.5	7.7	18.0	20.2	11.3
White Plains	1968	20.8								31.7	21.8	46.5	
	1967	17.6									44.1	55.9	
Bellport	1968	20.5									49.3	50.7	
	1967	21.1								24.1	37.9	38.0	
Lackawanna	1968	18.8		18.1	40.6	19.7		79.4			4.8	12.3	4.5
	1967	18.9		20.3	40.5	19.3		80.1			5.2	12.2	2.6
Ossining	1968	17.0							25.3	24.0	7.7	39.7	3.3
	1967	15.0					4.2	4.2		50.4		44.3	1.1
Glen Cove	1968	16.7			12.8			12.8			11.4	75.8	
	1967	13.5			13.6			13.6			25.7	43.4	17.4
Niagara Falls	1968	16.3		10.8				10.8		3.3	41.4	38.6	5.9
	1967	15.8	14.4		4.7			19.1		14.2	24.2	35.9	6.6

Table 48 (Continued)

Yonkers	1968	16.3			19.4	7.8		27.2	25.9	4.2	27.2	6.6	8.8
	1967	14.6			19.9	7.7		27.6	20.1	10.6	18.2	15.6	7.9
Utica	1968	12.9	11.8					11.8	13.8	12.4	21.7	22.4	17.9
	1967	11.5		11.8				11.8	15.0	11.3	20.9	9.2	31.8
Long Beach	1968	12.5							43.9			41.8	14.3
	1967	11.4								41.5		24.7	33.8
Troy	1968	12.4							26.5	12.3	9.8	44.3	7.0
	1967	11.8				5.0	29.0	34.0			18.8	11.9	35.3
Geneva	1968	10.7										85.4	14.6
	1967	10.4				39.8		39.8					60.2
Spring Valley	1968	9.0									18.8	53.8	27.4
	1967	8.4										65.9	34.1
Schenectady	1968	7.6							14.2		18.1	33.9	33.8
	1967	7.3							18.5	10.7	6.2	11.2	53.4
Rockville Centre	1968	7.3								24.1		23.8	52.0
	1967	6.4								25.7			74.3
Elmira	1968	6.4								20.8	6.5	38.4	34.3
	1967	6.3				23.0		23.0	28.6			19.9	33.4
Kingston	1968	5.9									33.0	7.6	59.4
	1967	5.6								27.4	7.8	26.7	38.1
Suffern	1968	1.8											100.0
	1967	3.0					59.5	59.5					40.5

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[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.